

The Family
In the Making

Mary Burt Messer

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THE FAMILY IN THE MAKING

AN HISTORIC SKETCH

BY
MARY BURT MESSER

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G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

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THE FAMILY IN THE MAKING

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Mary Burt Messer



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To

LORENZO DOW HARVEY

HILDA

First of all, I want to go round and look at all the things that you have built. . . . Many church-towers among the rest? Immensely high ones?

SOLNESS

No. I build no more church-towers now. Nor churches either.

HILDA

What do you build then?

SOLNESS

Homes for human beings.

HILDA

(Reflectively.) Couldn't you build a little—a little bit of a church-tower over these homes as well? . . .

I mean—something that points—points up into the free air.

The Master Builder—Ibsen.

FOREWORD

WHEN Cato laid down the harsh rules that were to govern a foreman's wife on a Roman farm, he painted a picture that is remote indeed from our age. Since his time, women have risen to a higher plane of life, and men too have progressed to a finer appreciation of womanhood, as is apparent when we read that the Roman foreman was "to make his wife obey him," and she was "not to know luxury." Women of the neighborhood and elsewhere she should see as little of as possible, neither bringing them into the house nor visiting them. Eating at other people's houses is another bad thing. "Let her be no gad-about." What man can now read Cato's language without a sense of shame? In all lands of enlightenment, great progress has been made. Indeed, we have almost reached the point where we can appreciate Plato's idea that "in the administration of the state neither a woman as a woman nor a man as a man has any special function."

As the status of women has changed from age to age in Europe and America, so also has changed the family. And since the family has always been a vital factor in shaping not only the social organism but also civilization itself, we cannot witness our own age without thinking at times of the future and raising the question: What of the family?

The author of this book has devoted years to research in the field of the family—its history, its characteristics, its trend, having approached this study through social

work carried on in New York City. There, in the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, she was brought into direct contact with vital family problems. Later, as an investigator for the Charity Organization Society, she was led into a critical examination of agencies for social betterment. As a suffragist, actively participating in state and national campaigns, she gained further insight into the problems and tendencies of woman in contemporary life.

It was from this field that Miss Messer was invited to Wisconsin to undertake a task of academic research in the interests of the family. This task was undertaken under the most favorable conditions and required seven years of labor. During this time she taught her subject as a college course at Stout Institute, and later lectured on it under the auspices of the University of California Extension Division. She now puts forth the best fruits of her work in the form of a volume which cannot but prove a highly useful instrument for all men and women who are trying to understand social conditions and to cope with some of the most urgent problems of our day.

LEON J. RICHARDSON.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
November, 1927.

INTRODUCTION

The Family in the Making may seem at first glance a questionable title, with the current family apparently disintegrating before our very eyes. But it is one of the benign functions of the historic approach to show—in various fields—that what is happening has happened before, and thus to introduce a touch of repose into the contemplation of sensational moments. The state did not fall with the Bourbons, the family does not necessarily fall with its outworn conventions. Indeed it is quite possible that it is moving definitely though somewhat unsteadily toward the realization of a finer and more plastic form, one which shall respond more fully to the sensitive and imperative needs of the modern human being. This human being has already realized a civil state which is at least a better habitation for the person he now is than the ancient monarchy, with its modes and trappings. And there is every reason to believe that the family as well may be more happily conformed in due time to the uses of its members. As in the case of the state, the progress of the family is not without its fatalities; but it should be possible to advance at this point with more enlightenment, perhaps, than hitherto, more insight into the ways of life.

It is the purpose of the following chapters to contribute in some slight measure to this enterprise by discovering, so far as possible, the social foundations of the family as a human institution, tracing the history of its development and change from primitive times to the present hour. This must be seen as a project which involves not only social but spiritual values; not only structural forms, but the hopes, desires and aspirations which lie behind them,

and which they both express and imprison. It is an attempt at the same time to save from the deluge of masculine activities the interests of woman, so largely obscure in the pages of history as man has written it. If it resolves itself unduly into the story of womankind it must be remembered that the subject by its very nature invites this emphasis; also that the story of mankind has been so widely, so multifariously told as to need no new treatment.

An attempt to interpret the family in the light of historic data is not new, but a fuller—at least a further—treatment seems particularly worth while for a variety of reasons. First among these is the natural importance of the family itself, so curiously unrecognized in the majority of man's social studies owing to his preoccupation with military, political and commercial affairs. In reality the family ranks with the state in importance, not following but preceding it in social evolution, and passing like the state through a series of significant phases. It is an institution which has stood from the beginning in the most strategic position in the affairs of the human race, influencing the social drama—if in no other way—by the production of its actors. To attempt an analysis of society with the family neglected is an endeavor to put together the irregular parts of a baffling puzzle with half of the pieces missing.

A second reason for attempting a study of the primitive and historic family is the predicament of the current family. If there is any new light which may be thrown on the perplexities of the hour it is in demand. For modern society is visibly—statistically—in a state either of disintegration or transition with respect to family life. Wherever progress in the accepted sense of the term has had its will the family is apparently driven in many ways into new and untenable positions. It is evidently subjected to

bearing strains which it is unable to sustain, in its historic form. Divorce advances by leaps and bounds not only in the United States which takes the emphatic lead in Christian civilization in this respect, but throughout the world. Specific figures for the United States show, according to the census of 1920, the dissolution of one marriage in every seven (in round numbers), a situation which should be seen in connection with another susceptible of social interpretation—the high rate of infant and maternal mortality (although the curve here is not an ascending one, as in the case of divorce). In a list of countries with which it can be properly compared the United States ranks only fifth in the order of merit with respect to the death-rate of babies, in spite of what should be favorable conditions; but nineteenth, with respect to the death-rate of mothers in child-birth—figures which should concern the student of an institution existing largely (though by no means entirely) for the purpose of supporting motherhood and fostering child-life. In addition to these points may be noted a revolt against parental or even social authority on the part of youth indicative of an extensive skepticism with respect to traditional family ideals among the rising generation.

These facts and statistics pointing to the condition of the family in the United States are of more than local concern as pertaining to a nation which has never quite ceased to stand forth as a social experiment, an example of the working of free institutions. Have we here the inevitable result of “this freedom” in terms of family life? The cost of a transition?—Or sheer demoralization?

To such questions as these an answer must be discovered not only for the sake of America, but in behalf of the increasingly numerous nations moving in its direction under the banner of a democratic ideal. The disintegration of the family here so strikingly in evidence suggests first of

all individualism keyed to the highest pitch, beyond this the specific revolt of woman in the field of domestic custom, and as a still further outlying ripple from this center of disturbance, the revolt of youth. But the formula of individualism as applied to an area of such delicate and vital sensibility as that of family life loses its simplicity of outline, precipitating problems which are bewildering because they are new in kind. Here is the familiar gesture in defiance of authority, but the outcome is confusing. No one seems able to grasp the situation as it stands or to predict the issue.

In short, the family is assailed by forces which it is neither able to interpret nor resist. And there is a lack of assurance as to the classification of current happenings. Is divorce, for example, to be counted as in the field of calamity or good fortune? Is modern youth the exultant expression of a new day—or a social menace? With the political emancipation of women there has come an adjustment of ways of life in the area of civics, an extension of woman's scope gradually accepted and provided for. But how is the family to accommodate itself to this change of attitude and program? A formula now covers the relation of men and women as fellow-voters. But a recharting of domestic life to bring it into harmony with new and apparently quite irresistible tendencies is wanting. It is not that the old conventions persist in the face of social changes: this they are quite unable to do. It is rather that they are subjected to a series of shocks and jars which might be avoided in part by the application of that conscious thought which has continually entered into the shaping of the social institutions by which we live.

The absence of this directive intelligence in the molding of current domestic life may be traced to several causes. In the first place family relations are the most persistently instinctive of all relations, slowest to yield to the progres-

sive movement from impulse to enlightened thought. In the second place woman, the presiding figure of the home—that one upon whom its progress might be expected to depend—is apt to open its door and pass out into the world the moment she herself has progressed from the stage of instinct to conscious thinking. This means that the home has stood to her for so many immediate difficulties, for so much personal service with the flavor of bondage, that she hastens at the first opportunity into freer fields, with no very lingering look behind her. In other words she passes into social areas whose problems have been partially solved by the struggles of men, deserting to a degree (at least as a thinking person) that area whose problems continue unsolved in the hands of women. This does not mean that woman's civic life is not fruitful of corrective measures in the field with which she has been traditionally concerned. It does mean that the problems of this field have not been attacked with anything like the zest and whole-heartedness which have accomplished political adjustments, and that the family, as a result, continues to stand at a point of contradiction and dismay.

It is clearly evident that a solution of family life in new terms is in order, for a return to old positions is no longer feasible. The failing voice of its champions is already drowned in the sounds of a new day. In the closets of the past there have been disclosed too many household skeletons. Domestic life is never to be driven back into the intrigue and imposture which have so long characterized the relations of men and women. There is a certain brutality about the hour perhaps, but it stands at least for immense gains in candor. The older traditions, riddled by common honesty, are scrapped in part along with the secret maneuvers and theatricalities of old school diplomacy. They are at odds with the new realism of woman's

position, as well as its social ethics. Sham sentiment attended by false practices is no longer serviceable as a domestic cement, as formerly in the absence of knowledge, experience and maturity on the part of women. Not that these tendencies are to be removed at once by a change of public attitude. What has happened is that they are advanced to a position where they are no longer regarded as normal and to be endured. We have at present, instead of the complaisance in which these things were once grounded, social disturbance and redress. Moreover there is a typically modern issue to be taken up in connection with these moral and social considerations—the rights of love itself—an issue pressed to the fore rather by sensitive women than by men, since life for women has never split itself easily into that dual program with which men have attempted to solve the conflict between their obligations and desires.

The family thus finds itself driven into a critical position from which there is no countermarch—by tottering feudal bridges. Modern society is thus confronted by the baffling but entirely direct question: What lies ahead? It is at this point that the mind of thoughtful habit turns to the past with the hope that it may elucidate the future.

Yet it must not be supposed that the family has been wholly ignored by man in his academic enterprises—in certain of its aspects. About the middle of the nineteenth century, at a time when man's scholarly interest began to concern itself with primitive life in general, the early family entered his field of vision as an object of attention. With the zest of the anthropologist such men as McLennan, Maine, Starcke, Lubbock presented a series of studies of backward peoples immediately launching a controversial literature with the family as its pivotal point. Probably the most notable first-hand study of the ancient society in question was that of the American, Morgan, whose work

remains a classic in spite of the fact that his position (in common with every other) has since been contested. Slightly anticipating these students in point of time there appears the Swiss writer, Bachofen, author of the famous *Mutterrecht*, whose touch of feministic vision has conferred on his unique work a survival value denied to the majority of his dryer and more argumentative contemporaries. Following this lead there develops a literature especially emphasizing the view-point of the anthropologist, but amplified in the hands of Westermarck and Howard (authorities thereafter) to include the historic and modern as well as the primitive family. The leading point of interest in connection with this group of books, aside from its distinct value in the field of fact, is that it shows the first interest in the human family to have been that of the anthropologist, an interest so disproportionate and so dominant up to recent times as to account for the rather astonishing anthropological essay offered by the *Encyclopædia Britannica* to cover the family as a topic.

Passing from this body of books, available as the most natural point of departure in the present study, we confront a totally different line or literary genealogy in a group of dynamic volumes of which the purpose is not to inform but to convince. The first group has presented itself as static, analytic; the authors are observers, they have no warmth with respect to change or revolution, their enthusiasms (especially those of the anthropologists) rather pertain to the solution of an absorbing jig-saw puzzle than to a living social problem. Of the new books in question it may be said on the contrary that the past is conceived as valuable only as it may be used to elucidate a social process, or point a moral. In this class the outstanding students of the family are the Socialists—such men for example as Engels, Bebel—concerned with the actual functioning of society rather than its curious pattern.

They are idealists for all their economic viewpoint in that they look upon society as it stands with a kind of impassioned scrutiny, pressing toward the triumph of justice over mere tradition, and the liberation of every subject class.

These are the books of men. But books by women in the interest of women have made themselves felt at an even earlier period, writings marked by an electric force the voltage of which is to be felt forcibly in our own time. The brilliant initiative in this field is taken by Mary Wollstonecraft in her indignant reply to Rousseau, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, although she is not without her forerunners, notably Christine de Pisan and Mlle. de Gournay. The theme in question is carried on in very much diluted form by the English Blue Stockings and their successors, who at least keep alive the process of self-expression on the part of women, even though they lose the crusading note. It is characteristic of these writings that they differ from the preceding in that they concern themselves with woman's individual status rather than with the family, an attitude which is to be caught up by the Anglo-American woman suffrage movement and its supporting literature. Most notable among the contributions of this character by progressive men is *The Subjection of Women* by John Stuart Mill, holding its permanent position as a classic in this field.

But the family is not to be neglected in the literature of the "woman movement" as it finds expression on the Continent and especially in Scandinavia. While American and English women are absorbing themselves in the individualistic issues, "Votes for Women" and the right to work—the latter especially urged in the notable writings of Olive Schreiner and Charlotte Perkins Gilman—there appears in Sweden a striking exponent of individualism in the field of marriage and family life. The champion of

this doctrine gradually known especially in Europe as the "New Morality" is the distinguished feminist Ellen Key, notable for her candor in the discussion of vital issues, but a romanticist of almost adolescent temper and working in detachment from both religious and historic backgrounds. In connection with these conceptions as defined by outstanding women there appear in increasing numbers books bridging in a measure the historic gap of centuries lying between the primitive family as ardently set forth by the anthropologist and the modern family as the feminist portrays it. For it is always interesting to remember that in history as such woman does not appear except as she strays into the preserves of men in the rôle of queen, or in occasional breaks and flaws in the trend of things—a truth even applicable in the main to that most sympathetic of current chronicles, the "new history," where some wave of modernism might have been expected to cast her up into the sun. But this loss of half the human race is beginning to be bridged over, as we have noted, by a body of new books, among which may be mentioned as salient examples the valuable, almost encyclopedic work of Miss Goodsell of Columbia University, the astute and literary study of the lady of all periods by Mrs. Putnam; and the unique and sweeping historic sketch of sex-dominance by the Vaertings—books of the most diverse character, but all of them serving to build up the lost picture of woman's place in the historic pageant.

Books on the family as a general topic attacked from different viewpoints are gradually brought forth by a variety of writers including among the earlier contributors Thwing, Parsons, Todd, Gillette, Gallichan, Bosanquet, Ellis, Carpenter, Coolidge, Tarbell, Hale, Föerster in Germany, Finot in France; and more recently, Madame Lombroso in Italy, Anna Garlin Spencer, Alice Beal Parsons, Groves, Mowrer and Judge Lindsay—if we may

consider the latter's studies of the younger generation as an indirect approach. Mrs. Gilman figures again in this group of writers, in her vigorous and witty attack on the sentimentalism of the home, in which connection should be mentioned two distinguished iconoclasts in the dramatic field—Shaw and Ibsen, the latter indeed the first feminist of major importance in the literary world, striking in *A Doll's House* his revolutionary note. In the industrial field Miss Abbott, Miss Henry and others bear the family in mind in its economic aspects; and the legal position of woman and the family is presented in many studies, including an anticipated volume (about to go to press) by Miss Alice Paul. Mention should also be made in this connection of the studies of Freud and Flügel as a body of observations dissociated from their claims to therapeutic value. And these are but salient items in an increasingly long list of books attempting to throw light on the family problem from many angles. Last and most striking among immediately recent contributions is the volume on marriage by Count Keyserling and his associates, who apply to the question the most searching philosophic thought, lifting the subject to the highest level by the dignity of their approach. It is interesting to note just here and by way of contrast with earlier studies that the expressed object of Count Keyserling is "to help."

One noticeable point in connection with the groups of books so far considered—produced in turn by anthropologist, socialist, suffragist, feminist, philosopher—is that they do not amalgamate or unite to bring forth a substantial subject: they are to a certain degree detached, spasmodic, unrelated. There has been no steady and rational development of categories like those developed for example in the study of the state. And there is yet another flying and detached conception of the family which has brought forth literature and which demands

consideration—the family as a charitable object, the dependent family, “broken homes.” The books in question here proceed with a certain sureness, for it will be discovered that this is the only family which has succeeded in developing about itself a technique of analysis, an orderly approach. Here is an academic and scrupulously correct advance upon the family which for one reason or another has lost its social footing and appears to be unable to function without outside aid. But no one is to confuse with the family of anthropologist, suffragist, socialist, feminist, the family as a “case,” (although in Mowrer there is some attempt at unification). That is, the approach is particular and not universal; nothing could be more disturbing to society at large, for instance, than the application of the “case” method to the middle or upper classes.

But we have by no means exhausted even here the approaches which do not flow together, which have not yet been conceived as a common highway. There remains the last and most important among them all—that of the world’s religions. For while the man of scholarship has singularly ignored the family in his research, his histories, his secular education, it has been from time immemorial an object of first concern to religious leaders. In practically every notable religion provision is made for some type of control of the mating instinct, some form is given to the family group, a certain status is accorded women. And this is not only true of the distinct religions as they may be compared with one another—Mahometan and Christian, for example; it is equally true of the historic branches of Christianity itself. To study the great religious books, teachings and canon laws, indeed, is to study the very origins of secular law and custom. For what are the leading sources of the conceptions under which we live as Americans today? Are they not Jewish, Catholic,

Protestant? Shall we not add to these the significant development in our own day of Christian Science, the first great religious movement of which the revelator and leader has been a woman? Even the skeptic, priding himself upon his intellectual temper, lives in an atmosphere so charged with the dominant religious conceptions of his time (flowing through secular law and custom) that he is very nearly as much of a conformist as the rest for all his protests; and nine times out of ten he will be found living a life reasonably attuned to these ideals of religious origin, whether they are avowed or not.

It is quite evident then that a study of the family, if it is to be real and vital, must make a brave attempt to bring into some sort of sympathetic oneness these diverse considerations—as difficult, as audacious, as the task must be. The following chapters, as an expression of the quickened interest of woman in her relation to society past and present, aim to break down these numerous artificial categories, so far as this is possible, and to present the family as a single picture. In this way they may contribute in small measure (and notwithstanding their many faults) to the new history which must expand its borders to include the family and woman, as well as the working class, and which moves at least in the direction of a richer sympathy and sounder realism in its attempt to deliver from the hands of specialists the story of human life.

In the interests of a consecutive narrative and in order to focus the attention of the reader rather on human issues than the work of scholars the present manuscript is offered without footnotes and with only the most necessary attributions. It has been a uniform aim in these studies to build on data drawn only from the most authentic even conventional sources to the extent that this has proven feasible in dealing with a field so extensive and so poorly covered by formal history.

The chapters in question represent an enterprise in research and instructional work of college grade supported and encouraged at Stout Institute, Wisconsin, under the exceptional patronage of Dr. L. D. Harvey, a man of creative mind in education and well known for his pioneer attainments in the field of vocational and industrial training. It was an enterprise followed by him up to the time of his death with the utmost delicacy of intuition and with a liberality entirely beyond the granting of mere academic freedom, since it was his desire to foster a genuine expression on the part of women—the hitherto unexpressive half of the human race—whether in accord or at variance with his own or conventionally accepted standards. Dr. Harvey must be further recognized as the first educator to conceive the family as a subject for curricula and to undertake its thorough analysis and amplification with this end in view—a vision in which he was to anticipate the active development along these lines today.

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THE FAMILY IN THE MAKING

THE FAMILY IN THE MAKING

CHAPTER I

THE NATURAL FAMILY

THE family as a social institution may be as easily defined for purposes of study and analysis as the state, and yet the term is one which never quite yields to the atmosphere of the academic. The appeal of the word is less to the mind than to that curious complex of affections, passions, prejudices and instincts so marked a factor in the consciousness of every man—even as this the most sophisticated of centuries enters into its second quarter. It is a word in which so much is compacted in the way of historic movement, of racial differences, of the rich darks and lights of the universal drama of men and women; of love at its tenderest, of antagonism at its keenest. It must be felt as well as comprehended. Nevertheless it is possible to set forth for working purposes the significance of the term as it is about to be used in these pages. Beyond this there will appear in social progress itself a singularly fine disclosure of the values which it infolds—values which it is the business of the present book to identify and interpret.

The first family with which we have to do, and from which we must proceed to a consciously restricted group, is the natural family—a family made up of parents and their offspring whether or not they may be conceived as a continuing company. It is evident that the term “family” in this case is applicable to animal as well as to human life, and that it refers to individuals associated in mating and reproduction together with their young, a

group upon which no outside restrictions have been imposed. In this instance there is a spontaneous parenthood which differs in two ways from that over which society exercises supervision. In the first place the individuals who mate are not identified with respect to lineage, which means that there is nothing to prevent the mating of the members of one generation with those of another, even in a direct line of descent; neither is there anything to prevent the marital partnership of those who are actually sisters and brothers, half-sisters and half-brothers, or cousins. It is obvious that this is quite simply the situation in the animal world, except where breeding is controlled by man; although it is possible that there are instinctive recoils which elude detection and which are beginning to make provision for more selective mating from the standpoint of lineage.

However this may be, we have a family based on little or no discrimination with respect to kinship, in the beginning, and as a second characteristic, entirely free of coercion in the matter of holding together. The association of family members may be of short or long duration. Mates for example may be found together during the mating season only; or they may continue their alliance during the dependency of the young; in rare instances they may continue in a partnership which appears to be a lasting one. This means that the young are cared for in a variety of ways, and in situations not uniformly favorable to their best interests.

There is nevertheless one dominant trait in the large majority of these families which depend for their association upon instinct and not upon group coercion. It is that the mother is discoverable everywhere as the dependable parent—a true parent in the sense that the father is not; that is, the mother is found as a practically unfailing guardian of the young (except among the lowest species),

whereas the father is a parent who may or may not continue his rôle beyond the reproductive function. Maternity is, in other words, a natural certainty, a substantial fact, even where there are no laws enforced. Paternity, on the other hand, is casual, occasional: it may exist in support of motherhood, as in frequent examples in the animal world, or it may not—as in more frequent instances. It is evidently elemental only with respect to reproduction, whereas maternity extends its protection to the growing young first in the form of pregnancy itself, followed by the intimate care of the nursing period, and thence by the familiar phases of child-training and child-nurture covering the entire period of dependence. All of these processes are commonly brooded over by a peculiarly close and binding love, appearing with as natural a certainty as the mother's milk—as surely as the latter specifically meeting the demands of infant life. It thus appears that the elemental family, if we refer to that continuing group of which the function is child-rearing as well as reproduction, consists of a mother and her children. This fact of human as well as animal life is of the utmost importance in accounting for the forms the family assumes as it ceases to be a merely natural association and takes on the outlines of a social institution, determined no longer by instinct alone but by group will.

There appears, however, this difference between the young of the higher mammals and of humankind, in spite of the vital similarity between the family groups of the two, as dominated by mother-care. In the case of the conquering species, man, the parents give birth to singularly helpless babies. This means that in the case of the human baby heredity has not done all of the creative work. The activities of the human child are less in running order at birth, its equipment through instinct is far less complete, than among the offspring of the higher

mammals. There has been launched, quite evidently, a more delicate, more critical undertaking. Life has here taken a higher risk, for it has brought into being a small and defenseless and uniquely susceptible creature whose very existence depends upon the good will and continued attention of its fellow beings. The appeal to the human parent, the demand laid upon him, is thus infinitely more compelling than among the animals whose offspring pass through a short and not entirely helpless period of infancy before they arrive at full growth. To begin with the very pregnancy of the human mother is longer than that of any other (with few exceptions), the nursing period is longer, and there is a notably longer time, as we have seen, before the attainment of maturity. All this implies that a higher trust is placed in the human parent than in any other; that this parent is looked to as one capable of long sustained and intelligent guardianship of the impressionable young entrusted to his keeping.

Another difference between the families of animal and humankind is that the human family is less the product of clearly defined mating seasons. It is a characteristic of man, so far back as we are able to observe him, that his interest in mating is more or less continuous, that it is only modified to a slight degree by the seasons which so largely determine the mating habits of the lower species. This more uninterrupted reproduction in the case of the human species, is, in its early history, an asset, resulting in the rapid increase in numbers which helps materially toward man's dominion. We may imagine, however, that the situation is one which results in considerable social turbulence, that the human mass is being continually disrupted by the passions of competing males. It is a situation not favorable to the peaceful fostering of child-life, and it is not surprising that something is undertaken at this point in the interest of law and order. It is just

here that the family as a social institution is brought to birth.

But before entering into a consideration of this most significant—and much debated—social step it will be to the point to form some sort of objective picture of the folk with whom we have to do. We shall find them to begin with (so we have every reason to believe), in tropical and semi-tropical forests, whose upper leafy levels enable them to escape their enemies of claw and fang. We may sketch in at the outset the somewhat shadowy but alluring outlines of a tree-top world in which man as the most defenseless among creatures takes refuge among leaves and branches. Although he is less strong than the majority of his animal competitors, he is more wise and fleet. We can even imagine him, in the security of his green fort, as watching them with contemptuous laughter—as if with prescience of his destiny, in the midst of his rôle of coward.

On the ground, however, he is all eyes and ears (in his earliest history), a fear-driven thing, until that mind of his is to come at least partially into its own through a momentous episode. He discovers how to handle fire, probably at first through some happy accident. This discovery, however casually arrived at, is to assume in his affairs an almost limitless importance. It is to convert him into a world-citizen, to dispose of the first soul-paralyzing panic which has kept him a tree-man. Beyond this, in its invitation to stable earth, it is to release from their perpetual clasping and climbing his intelligent wonder-working fingers. One of the chief difficulties of arboreal life had been that hands were not free as such. There will now appear the maker, worker, craftsman. Moreover the animals with their defiant brute strength have been outwitted. Man has at last equipped himself with a weapon which means for him dominion. Henceforth these animals who have had him humbled are to

beat back with cowering eyes, in their turn, as before a conqueror. Not that he is entirely master of his new venture at first, as we shall see: they are none the less afraid, and with the same fear which he himself has so narrowly escaped (by so slight a margin has he outrun them, as man).

So men and women and their young (we must imagine) boldly descend from the tree-tops and make a fire. Their figures, crude, crouching and grotesque, are washed by a warm light. Though they are still uneasily alert to sounds, they feel to an unusual degree safe and befriended. They are for the first time "at home." They begin little by little to unclasp their hands: they incline more and more to an upright posture. As contrasted with the animals, they are masters; as contrasted with their fellow-beings who do not yet know the use of fire, they are progressive men; the pioneers of culture.

From this time on we may imagine a family group or groups as operating from a relatively stable center. Here is a point to which man is likely to return after his hunt or fight; for the first time in his wayward and fitful existence it is possible for him to "come home"—(although the picture of domestic life which one inclines to set up at this period is likely to be far afield). As for woman, she advances at this point to her time-honored position of fire-tender. The one thing to be done with this new-found and strange treasure is to keep it going, and it is evidently feasible for the mother to combine this with her care of babies—those babies once clasped by her in her running flight. Quite unaware of the tenure of her contract, she takes her post. She becomes responsible, she has a trust. One can tell where to find her. Those sons of hers, agile and independent as the boy Tarzan, in the tree-tops, now help her to get fire-wood.

Among the fire-born arts which are seen promptly to

develop in this primitive home the most notable is cooking. We can imagine with some amusement the rising popularity of the mistress of the steaming pot, whose delectable output is to play its part in making home a center. Game is no longer to be eaten in savage fashion where it falls; even the roots and grains are to be transfigured. Moreover innumerable new things are added to the "table" now that it is possible to boil off poisons and to break up fibers. It must be seen also that this new process stands for economy of power in the life of man. Given the art of cooking, the first and crudest work in the break-up of foodstuffs for assimilation is achieved by heat. In the same way, through the aid of fire, the human body is delivered from the necessity of producing so much warmth. We have in other words the beginning of man's program of enlisting the energies of nature in his own behalf.

In connection with this enterprise of cooking the primitive hausfrau—or more properly speaking, mistress of cave or wigwam—is impelled to the most extensive raids for seeds, nuts, roots and fruit, along with fire-wood and water, occasional honey and certain natural beverages. She is shortly to develop too, in connection with her catering, a kitchen garden, which gradually expands into a patch converting her into the first agriculturalist. When it comes to the harvesting of grains we see her devising granaries in the form of small thatched huts on elevated platforms, and she is also the designer of ingenious mills for refining seeds into crude flour.

Among the important methods of primitive cooking developed by this resourceful person at a time when every move must be in a measure creative, is that of baking, involving the use of a ground-oven definitely anticipating the fireless cooker. A hole in the ground is dug, lined with stones, filled with burning fire-wood, and again overlaid

with stones. As soon as the wood is burned away the meat or vegetables are deposited among the heated stones, possibly smothered with leaves or earth, and left to roast. Frequently enough these ovens are communal, so that a day or two from the date of burying, portions of the delicious viand are dug out from the sides of the oven by family members who present their claims to the inviting product. Roasting on a spit over the flame, boiling by dropping hot stones into a liquid, frying, baking in ashes,—all these processes contribute to the preparation by primitive woman of increasingly regular and not unsavory meals.

In connection with all these tasks this early woman is notably clever in the making of tools, receptacles, apparatus—whatever the case demands. Drawing upon the most unpromising materials she devises needles, knives and digging-sticks. As an aid in her work of carrying and transportation she also invents ingenious yokes as well as straps and headgear by means of which she is able to carry astonishingly heavy and awkward burdens—exhibiting in this field a strength and endurance equal and frequently superior to that of man, who avoids at this time, as we shall see, the exigencies of hard labor. Work, according to the earliest ideal, is meant for women.

It is also in connection with her task of carrying that woman develops one of her most important and interesting crafts, that of basketry—a craft having its origin in the simple thatched mats and wind-shields which usher in the more complex art. These baskets are demanded for the carrying of fire-wood, water, grains and even babies; and they express in form, decoration and workmanship practical and artistic talent in happy combination. The securing of materials demands special exploration of the vegetable world with which the caterer is already familiar, and in which may be discovered firm reeds serving as ribs

for the warp, as well as the more pliable reeds and grasses necessary for the woof. The finer baskets are so deftly woven and caulked that they may be used as containers of liquids, and the patterns frequently betray not only marked beauty of design but a fairly clever knowledge of figures as shown in the counting of stitches.

Following the art of basketry there appears, at a considerably later stage of advancement, that of pottery, remaining practically in the hands of women up to the day of the potter's wheel. Here as in her baskets woman is deftly utilitarian and at the same time artistic. She discovers the necessity of reinforcing the clay walls of her pots with harder broken bits, and of baking her finished product—hitting upon essential processes and thus blazing the way for more finished work. In the preparation of her clay she is something of a physicist, and she is extremely adroit in the setting up of difficult forms, as for example, that of the olla with narrow neck. She is also found glazing her pots with washes of finer clay, usually to produce some effect of color: witness her defiant scarlet, her bold black and white, her geometric pattern.

It is as a weaver, however, that woman mounts to the highest point, not only as craftswoman, but as inventor, carrying her industry in this field to a level of memorable attainment. In order to achieve the essentially flat and pliable result required in textile weaving she first draws from the vegetable world longer and stronger and finer fibers than those required for basket-making. From simple plaiting, with the textile held in her lap, she shortly advances to a small hand-loom. With this device she is able to proceed somewhat more deftly, but she must lift one thread after another with her needle, still somewhat laboriously, as one would darn a stocking. She is at the threshold just here, however, of a notable discovery. She has an inspiration as she gazes upon her square loom

attached to its vertical bars. Lifting up her alternate threads by means of the introduction of a long stick she forms a "shed" through which she throws her shuttle—her laborious small movements now displaced by a single telling stroke. The remaining set of threads is now lifted up, the shuttle again shot through and the process repeated. By which victorious maneuver woman evolves the loom, that loom of which our present models are but an elaboration. Ages before this she had discovered the indispensable art of spinning, of giving indefinite length and toughness to her vegetable fibers by twisting. Small wonder, then, that in the face of such a record "mother-wit" should have literally saved the day in the case of the Howe sewing-machine, or of the Jacquard loom!

With all of these activities springing up in the home as a center (although a shifting one) it is comparatively easy to grasp the fact of woman's rapid development not only as a craftsman but as a person. We shall see how intimately this fact relates itself to the first social organization—to be described in a later chapter, but an accomplished step in the industrial stage we are now considering.

Man at this period is a hunter and a fighter. In these activities he is continually ascending in the scale of prowess—rapidly gaining in his negotiations with the animal world, emboldened by his possession of fire, increase of numbers and better weapons. He extends his area of operations, he is more uniformly successful in his securing of fish and meat, thus escaping from his older habit of feast and famine (a habit continually relieved however by the more dependable catering of the women-folk). Throughout his performance he is aggressive, active, but undisciplined. He does not work, in the sense of sustaining an effort, except in the making of necessary weapons, and of unnecessary but dashing costumes and regalia connected with his ceremonials. He loves to charm and

astonish women, both by his brilliant appearance and by his deeds, although he has not as yet subdued them to the fine art of listening, because they have so much to do. Until society closes in upon him he is a romantic savage, successfully resistant to the demands of labor, given to adventure and war.

As to the primitive habitation or shelter, it may be said of its construction that it is largely in the hands of women, although they are frequently assisted in the rougher tasks by the men. The first home, except where a cave has been available, has been undoubtedly a modulation from tree-life. Sometimes the branches of a tree itself have been drawn toward the earth, attached to it by pegs, and thickened by interwoven boughs. An even simpler device for shelter is the thatched wind-shield, sometimes serving as protection at the entrance of a cave, sometimes set up merely as a lean-to against a tree. Later appears the teepee with poles driven into the ground, tied top and thatched sides. The thatched hut daubed with mud presents a further technical step in the process of house-building (not unfamiliar to bird and beaver), and there appears also the hut entirely of mud—prototype of the adobe or brick dwelling, just as the hut of thatched branches is the forerunner of the log cabin and wooden house. The utilization of skins or woven textiles marks a somewhat higher stage of culture, but one practically fundamental to the life of plainsmen, for the shelter at every point is determined by the type of life taken together with the materials available, as well as by the intelligence of the builder. It is interesting to note also the factor of defense in the primitive home, as seen in the selection of such inaccessible locations as steep cliffs, or the placement of huts on platforms over sheets of water.

The majority of early homes, even though they serve their purpose as industrial and domestic centers, are of a

type either to be moved or abandoned to meet the requirements of a more or less nomadic existence. In these repeated transfers of position woman is regularly the mover, and before the domestication of beasts of burden—as often afterwards—she carries the bulk of the family possessions on her back. It is not surprising under these conditions that she exhibits considerable expertness not only in breaking camp but in setting up the new establishment. It is claimed, for example, in certain Indian tribes, that two women will set up a teepee in five minutes and take it down in three. Logically enough woman is regarded as the owner of the goods and chattels which she habitually moves. This, taken together with a sort of ownership of the patch of ground she cultivates, means that she is less of the proletariat in these days than man himself, and certainly not a parasite upon him.

Summarising, then, the work of woman, which so largely dominates the early industrial program, we find her engaged in fire-tending, child-rearing, cultivation of the soil, harvesting, milling, cooking, spinning, weaving, basketry, pottery, transportation and house-construction, not to mention butchery, tanning and garment-making (although the latter art should not be isolated from the program of man, its most brilliant exponent at this time). In connection with all of these enterprises we have continually noted the play of both inventive and artistic genius; and we have not yet touched upon the social and political activities which a following chapter will disclose. Woman is to be saluted thus at the outset as a somewhat heroic figure, the creative genius of the very home which is to close in on her in due time and take her captive; possibly, beyond this, the creative genius of society itself.

CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF MARRIAGE

THE natural family, as we have seen, is one which provides in no way for the prevention of inbreeding, and if we may be permitted to accept this unregulated group as a valid background for the development of a social program, we shall see that possibly the first problem confronting primitive society was how to prevent the mating of those too near of kin. But we are met at this point in our effort to discover social origins by a baffling situation. Practically none of the "backward peoples" observable in the world today are in a position directly to serve our purpose, since they have without exception passed beyond the formative period in question. This cannot be taken to mean that no such formative period existed, or that the social forms presented by the backward peoples must be accepted as primary because they are there to be observed. On the contrary the backward peoples with their present customs present a social pattern hardly to be explained except in terms of a preceding phase, a phase supported not only by vestiges of like character and wide distribution, but by innumerable myths, and beyond this by an inherent logic. It happens however that myths, vestiges and inherent logic are an alluring invitation to all kinds of speculation, so that they serve the purpose rather of the philosopher and analyst than the historian who would tell from the beginning a consecutive tale. Unhappily the chronicler who would proceed with a straightforward narrative finds himself entangled just here in a network of learned guesses.

What this chronicler is seeking in this earliest situation is the first step or steps out of approximate promiscuity; in short, the beginnings of restrictive law, some regulation of the mating of men and women not inherent in the will of the parties concerned, frequently in opposition to that will and exerting its power against it. It happens however that various prohibitions, originally in opposition to natural instinct, finally identify themselves to a certain degree with this instinct, if they are ancient, and it is for this reason that it is impossible to claim the conscious origin of certain prohibitions which are found determining the family form among the most primitive peoples actually observable today. In short, the instincts themselves as well as customs are the conservers of standards and ideals habitually practiced. This being the case, the earliest history is to a certain degree buried past recall, and the chronicler has no authority for splitting up established tendencies into possible component parts, for discovering in them steps which may be set slightly apart, as one move following another, thus making for a progressive and at the same time logical sequence. He has no authority even for assuming a promiscuity out of which an order of this character might be evolved. On the other hand, it is a greater falsification of the consecutive story to omit a presentation of the earliest steps to which all evidence and all intelligent analysis must point; for which reason we shall begin the present narrative with those social moves based on the highest degree of probability, and launching with almost unescapable logic the family group as a social institution.

Following this intent we must not accept as "natural" or originally instinctive even the few simple out-marrying regulations to be found among the primitive peoples in the world today, as attested to in authentic studies: that is, the practically uniform prohibition of the mating of

parents with their direct descendents, and of brother and sister marriages. Consanguine marriages of this character are not normally allowed today among observable backward peoples, who require a marrying out which excludes the mating of such near relations. Yet this situation, as we have indicated, cannot be advanced to prove that the regulations in question are inherent in the human race, or apparent in its earliest stage. On the contrary it is somewhat impressive to realize that forms and tendencies which have become so fixed are in all likelihood related to man's advance from chaos to cosmos, in his social undertakings, and that they represent his first success in that most difficult enterprise of subduing the personal passions in the interests of the social whole. It is a point of interest in connection with this earliest zoning of the field of mating that the first vital lines established have persisted from their earliest appearance to the present day. That is, the essential tabus agreed upon in the instances which we are about to study have not been abandoned, progress having involved instead a fuller and more precise control along the lines laid down, but no retreat from the original premise.

While it is not easy to ascertain the motive governing these first probable efforts to conform instinct to law, to subject desire to agreed upon "thou shalt nots," it is likely that this first "social legislation" had its rise, like that of modern times, in a sense of existing evils. It is possibly the case that primitive man began to register the undesirable consequences of inbreeding just as they are popularly registered today, and to regard the practice with growing disfavor, although this explanation has been recently subjected to incisive criticisms. In any case the first restrictive step resulting from this attitude, the tabu preventing the mating of parents with their direct descendants, may be seen as springing from a tendency so deeply

rooted in the human mind as to be almost indistinguishable from instinct at the outset. It may have stood for the first effort of man to lift his individuality from its massy associations, from conglomerate life. That is, the move under consideration may have arisen in the beginning as an unconscious recoil on the part of man traceable to the increasing distinctness or maturity of his own identity, like that which has always precipitated sons and today precipitates daughters as well into independent activity, and away from too close emotional dependence upon their family group. At least we touch here upon a law which is evidently the most ancient of social regulations, a law standing like the use of fire on the line dramatically dividing the human and animal realms. It is a law in force among all peoples, and one which holds its place among the specific statutes of civilization, as forbidding the mating of members of different generations "in direct ascending and descending lines of consanguinity," to quote our modern code. What must be assumed then as the first move of primitive society in the direction of self-regulation has thus resulted in the separation of the generations from one another by a horizontal line too old to have any discoverable origin among human beings, but marking in reality,

" . . . the strip of herbage strewn
Which just divides the desert from the sown."

This law, however, though its actual rise cannot be traced, rests on considerably more than the logical hypothesis through which it must be discreetly approached in the absence of adequate facts. The distinguished psychoanalyst, Dr. Flügel, sees in the horror of incest which is the prevalent attitude among all peoples a kind of vestige of a once conscious protest, an aversion to

practices current at an earlier time but gradually tabu, and being increasingly escaped from as undesirable and anti-social. He sees in short not a primary instinct, but a gesture of rejection, a position which he supports by exceptional instances or vestiges of this extreme type of consanguine mating among the Indians of North and South America, and among primitive peoples of Asia, Africa and the Indian Archipelago—exceptions which by their very existence give meaning to the rule. He further infers from his experience with the human mind, in common with that of Freud and other psychoanalysts, that there are levels and concepts deeper than the levels of repression and control which point back to the very beginnings of morality in the making, and attest to its progressive nature. While the therapeutic value, and even ethics, of this sounding of the human mind as conducted by Freud and his followers must be gravely questioned—the separation even for a moment of the lower instincts from disciplines and aspirations—there is yet a contribution here which, held in a different perspective, suggests the evolution of the basic moral concepts, those concepts which have steadily lifted the human being from the brute and distinguished him as man. Mythology with its continual violations of these same basic standards also suggests an antiquity in moral evolution reaching far back of the most primitive observable human groups.

In any case this first step, the forbidding of marriage between relatives in the direct ascending or descending lines of consanguinity, implies the dawn of a remarkable conception. Nevertheless, society is not far advanced at this point in the prevention of consanguine marriage, for we find as yet no corresponding vertical line drawn through a given generation for the purpose of dividing brothers and sisters from one another as possible mates. Inbreeding of this latter character, or consanguine mating as it is

specifically termed (the phrase being limited to this connection) is still a possibility, it still goes on undenounced. Youth may mate with youth in a given group taking no cognizance of the blood-tie.

It is at this point in our contemplation of social evolution that we are confronted by a second implicit step resulting in a further prevention of inbreeding among the societies of mankind. This second rule is like the first in its universal prevalence, but differs from it in that it is enormously more difficult to establish and maintain, in the nature of the case. It further differs from the first in that it involves a distinct social organization, and also in the fact that there are abundant traces of its origin among extant peoples. It is a step which cannot be accounted for like the preceding in terms of possible recoil alone, but which involves at least a measure of social consciousness and deliberate aim. Specifically the move in question results in the erection of a barrier, or at least a partial barrier, between brothers and sisters as possible mates, in the attainment of which purpose society is apparently cast into its first articulate form. We have evidence just here of a remarkable community movement, a veritable social process of which we may discover flashes in vestiges of custom, numerous and widespread and again (very much more amply than in the preceding instance), in legendary lore. Indeed both myth and vestige suggest in this case a series of closely related moves leading up the accomplished, the accepted social form, even though these may lie somewhat motionlessly imbedded in the earliest primitive manners which we may actually observe today.

Prominent among the myths suggesting a transition from promiscuity or consanguineous marriage to the first social order is an Australian legend of particular interest in that it does actually attempt to set forth the reform eliminating marriage between too closely related kinsmen,

and in a way which does point to the widely prevalent primitive system which we are about to explore. After the creation (so the legend runs) brothers and sisters and others in the nearest degree of kinship intermarried, until the evil consequences of these connections became apparent, and the chiefs assembled in solemn council to consider some means of averting them. The result of this council was an appeal to the Good Spirit, Muramura. The Spirit replied that the tribe must be divided henceforth into branches, distinguished from each other by different names, which were taken from objects of the animate and inanimate world, such as dog, mouse, lizard, rain and others. Members of the same branch were no longer allowed to intermarry, but marriage was lawful among different branches.

This naïvely graphic explanation of the rise of out-marrying or exogamy is at least realistic in that it ushers us at once into the presence of the extremely bizarre but at the same time immensely practical totemic system, to be found in reality in all quarters of the world among primitive peoples, and functioning everywhere in the establishment of genealogies and the identification of kinsmen. These genealogies and identifications are, as we shall see, a positive prerequisite to the development of any family form whatsoever; the *sine qua non* of any consciously regulated domestic pattern. But whether or not they were wrought out by chiefs assembled in solemn council remains to be considered. Just here the primitive historian precipitates us into debated territory. Is it indeed the leader of hunting pack or fighting pack who turns at this point to the handling of the more deeply social problem, the regulation of the family? Or is the enterprise in question traceable to the fine hand of mothers?

We have before us, in any case, turning now to the actual map and observing backward peoples in their most

primitive communities, a social system erecting a successful or partially successful barrier between brothers, sisters and others of too close collateral kinship as possible mates. But how has this been accomplished? How has it been possible to regulate inbreeding to this degree in the absence of stable grouping and of written records—in a situation, in other words, in which the advanced societies of our own day would find it extremely difficult to keep their lineage clear, to control the relations of domestic life? Just here the family begins to define with singular clarity its vital purpose, and to disclose its first coherent program. Just here, at the same time, woman commends herself to the impassioned consideration of anthropologist and feminist.

In the first place in attempting to grasp the system in question academically, we must remember that it is impossible to prevent the mating of sisters and brothers unless it is feasible to identify them as such, and so distinctly that their kinship relation will remain apparent when they are no longer minors, but marriageable adults, and adults who must play their part in a remarkably plastic and shifting life. The first obvious point, then, is this: their identification with respect to one another hinges on their established relation to at least one parent. In other words it is precisely because of their common parenthood that they must not marry one another. It is thus the business of the first organization to make this lineage evident, to set a certain hyphen between the child and parent. No possible restriction of consanguine marriage could be undertaken without this first step.

This leads at once to a salient fact with respect to parents: it is by no means possible to identify the two with equal ease. In short, it is comparatively easy to lay a hand upon all mothers, and comparatively difficult to locate any father. Indeed we are not unfamiliar with the modes of this relatively elusive parent as seen to a certain

degree throughout all ages and in most species. But in primitive society this father is particularly obscure for the most natural reasons. He is in the dark without artifice, and requires no Napoleonic code—as in later civilization—to protect and conceal him—(“*La recherche de la paternité est interdite.*”) He is obscure as a parent simply because the women with whom he lives and who bear his children are like himself habituated to plural partners. It is precisely this as yet natural practice on the part of women of consorting with several husbands which confuses the issue (in a literal sense), resulting in the birth of children of a paternity unknown or at least uncertain in the majority of cases.

Motherhood, on the other hand, stands forth as a known relation in the nature of the case, and one not subject to confusion even through plural marriages. First through the visible associations of nursing, often continued in primitive society for four years and sometimes six, the mother and child are in the eyes of the community as in fact a unit. Later we have a period of indefinitely extended child care, merging into a period of “pre-vocational” training, a kind of pristine Gary schooling, in which the boys and girls alike, for the time being, are in the employ of their mother, that mother who is, as we have noted, a versatile and competent craftsman. This brief industrial period is to precede, on the part of boys, more manly discipline in the arts of war conducted by the men-folk (usually uncles, as we shall see); but this is a general, a later program, and one which does not aid, like the earlier maternal period, in the establishment of identification.

It happens thus that woman’s industrial program combines with her racial rôle to bind her firmly in a position of stability and reliability; and if we will call to mind the kind of person she is becoming as she expands the scope of

her many crafts, we shall have no difficulty in conceiving her as an increasingly valuable individual and one entirely able to hold an important post. She is neither directly nor indirectly dependent upon man from an economic standpoint, and so far as property is concerned she is very much more nearly an owner than he, owing to her loose claim to the land whose cultivation falls to her, and to the fact that she is understood to own practically all of the household possessions which she moves in the event of a change of location. At a variety of points she is a self-acting person differing widely from the historic feminine type to follow not only in her projects, but as inevitably connected with these, in her mental habits. Her attack on life is full of energy, of resourcefulness, of a kind of temperamental as well as bodily health. It is not impossible, certainly, to imagine her at the center of any enterprise. But it is especially important to bear in mind that in the orderly sustaining of her industrial and domestic program she has acquainted herself with a principle without which the organization of society would be quite impracticable: the discipline of impulse.

As the situation stands then we should not be surprised to find early society beginning its reckoning with a mother rather than a father brood. And such is actually the case if we limit the matter to the descent of names, as distinct from further claim with respect to woman's leadership. For the distribution of these mother-labeled kinship groups is world-wide. In all quarters of the globe among the "backward" peoples upon whom we must continually draw for data, may be discovered companies of kinsfolk bearing the name not of a male but of a female ancestress—groups which may be technically termed *metronymic* or characterized by the practice of taking their names from a line of mothers. Beyond this it is to be observed that numerous instances present themselves in which this

practice of bestowing mother-names is attended by other customs exalting woman to a more than usually important social and even political position. These groups are too widely and variously distributed to have derived their customs from one another, in the majority of cases, and they would seem to be most naturally explained as representing some regular phase of social organization, a stage of universal import. While groups of this character co-exist with those deriving their names from fathers, together with groups presenting all kinds of admixtures of the two systems, the metronymic clans identify themselves with vestiges of custom further confirming their significance, and suggestive of something more than a possibility that they have played in the growth of society an important primary rôle.

At least this inference would seem quite unescapable, and one not to be undone by the contradictoriness of the primitive picture—in view of the contradictoriness of all social pictures and the perpetual necessity of explaining conflicting customs in terms of varying social stages. But such an inference, as the student will discover, has been subjected to sharp bombardment since the day of its first proposal by the poet-scholar Bachofen, who, in the middle of the nineteenth century, advanced his stimulating exposition of the first social order in his famous volume, *Das Mutterrecht*. From that time on the world of scholarship, and later of popular interest, was to be agitated by discussions as to the “relative priority of matrilineal and patrilineal institutions” (an argument closely affiliated with that other issue especially arresting to the nineteenth century, the question of promiscuous origins—an issue serving to align the then newly fashionable scientific attitudes against old school theology). After Bachofen, the classic contribution to this disturbing subject in support of woman’s claim was made by that

first-hand observer and student of the American Indian, Morgan, who painted an ancient society of clear structural lines with the mother-clan as holding a position of priority in the social sequence.

In addition to these two students of primitive affairs who have stood out as notable and perpetually interesting figures in spite of much discrediting, we have a host of scholars eloquently proving from valid data that woman did, and that woman did not, occupy a uniquely important position in primitive organization. It may be said on the whole that the case for matriarchy, and especially for the universal priority of the maternal clan, as championed by the nineteenth century anthropologists, has been summarily disposed of by their modern successors, with occasional exceptions (although distinction is made between the fact of mother-power and its precedence in the social scheme). This later attitude however is not to be accepted without examination, in view of the fact that its emphasis is traceable in part to more extensive dependence on the field method which, while it has served as a valuable corrective of speculation, has at the same time hampered the free-play of insight. It has also focussed attention on the observable primitive social phase among backward peoples, at the expense of a preceding phase which, while hypothetical, must be inferred and coped with if organized society is to be seen in terms of growth.

Of the twentieth century controversy on the subject in question, never entirely subdued by official settlements, it may be said that the debate falls in the main into the hands of two groups. We have on the one side the typically skeptical and precise student of the hour, of scientific conscience, who inclines to see his subject in infinitely scrappy and detached parts, believing his eyes, doubting his reason and synthetic imagination, and deploring the nineteenth century attempt to discover universals. This authentic

scholar discredits matriarchy in the main, together with the priority of the maternal clan, holding as a rule to the more visible patriarchal dominance of the world today, although inclining in some instances to the acceptance of diversity of origins and irregularity of patterns. As contrasted with this man, who produces many books, we have not another man but a woman—who also produces books. This is the feminist of the time, one who has not fallen heir in the fullest sense to the traditions of the anthropologist; a new analyst of society, past and present, a new historian, responsive by every law of sympathy to the larger possibilities in the case for woman; a student, a chronicler who sees perhaps with impassioned bias, but also (it may be) with revivifying boldness. Happily, however, the alignment is not entirely partisan with respect to men and women—although the reader of the 1920's has learned that history is not at its worst when it has the warmth of a living tissue. We have in Dr. Hartland, for example, a lineal descendent of Bachofen in his defense of woman's primitive importance, although he is able to support his thesis with a body of data unavailable in Bachofen's day. This is even more notably the case in the important study of Briffault, who, in his three-volume work, *The Mothers*, stands forth as the latest champion of the matriarchal thesis, advancing an enormous mass of material in its support, and bringing to the issue a more than usually delicate insight. In this connection should be mentioned also the unique and stimulating work of Dr. Mathilde Vaerting, writing in association with her collaborator, Mathias Vaerting—exponents of a brilliant though imperfectly sustained philosophy of history setting forth a recurrent dominance of woman as vitally related not only to social phenomena but to the concepts of religion.

At least, this clan which takes its name from mothers

and which has given rise to such a literature of controversy, exists in fact, as we have seen, and since the day of its first champion it has found continual defenders as a primary social form. It deserves therefore the closest examination and analysis, even though the results of such a study are destined to lack a hard certitude of outline, owing to the inevitable blue of distance which intervenes between the observer and his subject. Moreover, distinction must be made (as already suggested) between the metronymic system, whose prevalence is world-wide and a scheme of mother-rule which, while it does exist in instances, is supported by less ample data. The possibility of an actual reign of mothers, or a veritable matriarchate, cannot be dismissed however for this reason alone, logically relating itself as it does to numerous vestiges of custom, to legendary lore, and even to such chronicles as Homer and the *Old Testament*. A consideration of this further possibility will be deferred to a later chapter. It is our present purpose to study a typical, a formal pattern of the mother-clan in question, one which may be legitimately derived from data relative to metronymic clans as they may be observed in all of the great continental divisions of the globe and upon innumerable islands.

CHAPTER III

THE RECKONING OF DESCENT THROUGH WOMEN

WHEN we consider that among the observable backward races there is not one entirely accredited example of consanguine marriage as a regularly permitted practice (except perhaps an Hawaiian instance, variously explained), we realize that the chief work of social organization has been already done, the arch-difficulties met before we are able to become spectators. This leaves entirely open the possibility that the mother-clan was universal, and it adds importance to the study of its extant forms and its every vestige. Not only does the rising of the historic curtain disclose man as a leader: this is to an extent the case with respect to the pre-historic curtain; so that we shall not press a point of difference with the admirably painstaking present-day ethnologist who infers from what he sees that man is in the saddle, even in primitive life.

But there is an earlier period with which we not only may but must concern ourselves in exploring social origins; a period with which we have attempted to deal in an axiomatic way so far, and with which we still have to do. And to the priority of the maternal rather than the paternal clan the bulk of evidence touching this somewhat mysterious first era does point as appraised in the present study, although it is neither desirable nor possible to try to establish fixed conclusions. Certainly it becomes our business to examine with the utmost care the clan of this character as it persists today, since it does precisely accomplish the task of identifying one parent, and by this means of eliminating consanguine marriages, at least on

the mother's side. According to primitive conceptions of parenthood, in which the child is conceived as being infinitely more remote from its natural father than from its natural mother in the matter of heredity, the root of the evil of inbreeding is thus attacked directly, and it is not easy to imagine another order of procedure. The kinship group reckoning descent through mothers presents itself therefore for consideration as the first and almost inevitably the first mode of social organization—a mode identical with the second vital step in the defining of marriage classes.

As we have already noted, clans of the type in question are widely distributed throughout the world, with easily recognizable traces or fragments of the same kind of organization even more widespread. This latter fact suggests a passing order—an original mother-clan in process of disintegration or transition into paternal forms. Also it may be said of these fragments or vestiges that they relate themselves to the more complete examples with the cleanest logic, and help to define the perfectly coherent norm with which we are about to concern ourselves. As to the actual extent of these kinship groups reckoning descent through mothers and occasionally coupling with this practice a further prestige and power on the part of women, they may be said to constitute, even according to a conservative estimate, about half of the primitive groups existing in the world today. They are numerous in the two Americas, in Africa, Asia, Australia, Melanesia and other island groups, obviously among the most unlike peoples and in the most unrelated places, and although there are local differences and variations, the surprising point is rather a similarity of trend and outline than diversity of plan. It does not follow that the status of woman in the majority of these observable groups is high, indeed the opposite is quite the case. But clans of the

type in question do serve as evidence of a system which must be traced as far as possible in the direction of its source, and which may there involve a somewhat different set of social values.

Among these primitive examples of maternal or at least metronymic organization probably the most important are the Indians of North America, with whom this type of clan or marked survivals of it have been found north, south, east and west. Especially striking among these is the instance of the Iroquois, formerly of the region of New York State, an example made classic by the notable first-hand study of the early American ethnologist Morgan, and indeed through its own completeness and articulate form. Other examples which may be mentioned as suggestive of the former extent of the system on the continent of North America are found among the Pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico; the Creeks of the southwest; the Crows, among the Plains Indians; the Montagnais, an Algonquin tribe of Labrador and Quebec, and numerous other tribes of the interior and Pacific coast—including the Seri, island folk of the Gulf of California, who illustrate not only mother-descent but mother-rule, having many points in common with the Iroquois, but illustrating a very much lower stage of culture than they. Again selecting tribes, which by their geographic location suggest the wide prevalence of the scheme in question, we may note in South America the Arowaks of Guiana and the Bakairi of Brazil.

Turning to Africa we discover repeated examples or vestiges of the same social plan among the negro natives of French, British and German areas alike—in the Ivory Coast and Gold Coast regions, in Togoland (among the Ewe-speaking race), and among numerous other coast and interior tribes, for example, the Balonda. A uniquely interesting and pertinent feature of these same negro groups is the existence among them of reigning queens,

although this is not necessarily connected here, just as it is not later, with a system of mother descent.

In Asia notable instances of matrilineal clans are to be found among the natives of India—for example, the Nayars of the south, the Khasis of Assam; and among Arabian tribes. It is also somewhat to the point to mention in this connection the polyandry of Thibet, which is in practice the marriage of one woman to several men, usually brothers, although it is probably but a variation on the theme of group marriage brought about by difficulties of subsistence in a sterile area, and not in reality a new or rare type of mating, or anything corresponding to the widely prevalent polygamy of man of the historic period. Further specific examples of the distinctly maternal clan may be cited for Melanesia and Australia (a specially important field for the study of primitive society), together with other island groups, not to mention the traditional backgrounds of the Egyptians, the Hebrews, the Japanese, Greeks, Germans—(to resort to more or less random but valid choices certain of which will be considered in another place).

But it is not to our purpose to make lay excursions into a uniquely difficult and extensive field except as this is necessary to suggest to the student the world-wide scope of the metronymic clans, or their traces, and to offer some sort of assurance that the plan which follows is not a product of mere logic, but a scheme which takes its contours not only from real instances, but from examples extremely numerous and widely diffused. A detailed examination of these instances discloses, as we have already noted, and with due allowance for superficial differences, an astonishing likeness among them, the more impressive that their geographic distribution makes it practically impossible to regard them, except in rare instances, as forms borrowed one from another. It is the

discoverable structural line among these clans which makes feasible the composite picture to follow—an articulate social unit appearing as such in occasional true examples, but exhibiting one or more of its characteristic features with the utmost frequency throughout the world.

The salient feature of this clan to begin with, and one implied in both the terms metronymic and matrilineal, is obviously the passing of what may be called family names down a maternal rather than a paternal line. That is, it is from the mother rather than the father that a group of brothers and sisters are to derive a name identifying them with their kinsfolk or blood-relations; a custom obviously opposed to our own patronymic practice in which the children of John Smith and Anna Brown bear uniformly the name of Smith. But kinship names in the phase we are considering are commonly derived from animals or birds (or other natural phenomena)—for example, turtle, duck, deer, heron,—which names are passed from a feminine ancestress to her lineal descendants exclusively through daughters. It is evident that the sons and daughters of a “turtle” mother will, according to this system, bear the name of “turtle,” a name to be passed on thereafter by all the girls to their offspring, but not by the boys to theirs. The boys in every instance are destined to be fathers of children bearing the names of their women partners, the mothers of these children.

The mother in question here, however, must not be seen as in her modern detachment; as associated with the husband and their common children alone. This is not the domestic picture; and such a conception must be discarded, that we may set up the home anew. The mother must be conceived instead as affiliated with a group of women, in this case her sisters; all of them to a degree with their common brothers. Back of this sister-and-brother group we must imagine a more aged maternal stratum, or perhaps

a single surviving ancestress, again with affiliated brothers, if these are living; and below this same sister-and-brother group, a youthful generation made up in turn of sisters and brothers and maternal cousins, both boys and girls; indeed it is clear by the very construction of these groups that maternal cousins are to be regularly included in them.

In other words, domestic life presents in this phase a series of stratifications, and it frequently happens that on these levels little distinction is made between a woman's children and her sister's children, all of whom call her "mother" in common with her sisters. One other point to be noted in this connection is that individuals may be adopted into any of the defined kinship positions to be accepted thereafter precisely as if they were occupying this same position through veritable blood-ties. Nothing is more interesting than the gradual emergence of a distinct family outline from this partial blur, although it must be realized that this somewhat generalized organization has accomplished a great work.

This great work is the erection for all time of a barrier between the descendants of one mother as possible mates—the defeat of consanguine marriage where defeat is most telling (and most feasible): on the mother's side. The indispensable law to be arrived at and that which accounts for the precise organization of the present group now appears: the law of exogamy, or compulsory "marrying-out"—a law requiring, in practice, that the males shall seek partners beyond their own kinship group, now clearly outlined through mother-names. This means that a given maternal clan is to lose in a sense its sons, to receive from other clans young men with the status of sons-in-law. The young women, in other words, must draw their partners from outside. In short, the girls stay where they are (a residence termed "matrilocal"); their domicile does not follow as later that of their husbands, who, in this

primitive scheme, are required to go to them. This process is perhaps accelerated by the jealousy of the older males who tend to expel from their own group these young competitors.

It happens none the less that these imported men, these marryers-out by the new law of exogamy, are more emphatically sons than husbands. Though they go to the clans of their wives and maintain with these a certain affiliation, they are still held to their mother's groups in a more binding alliance. They are still actual members of the mother-clan, the clan whose name they bear, and this tie is acknowledged by them with the most profound sentiment and loyalty they yet know. They are never veritable members of the clan in which they take wives—or into which (to put it more exactly) they are adopted as husbands. A certain transient and occasionally lasting sentiment connected with pairing cannot be denied, perhaps even the beginnings of romantic or selective love; but this is but a faint development and one not socially supported. In the event of a feud between mother-clan and wife-clan the issue is distinct: there is no ambiguity about a man's alignment, no confusing hyphen. The "turtles" in this case are one; or, as they would put the matter, "All-one-flesh." Each man is first his mother's son, and he must fight accordingly, even to the point of killing, as must often happen in this event, his own children.

Moreover the position of the husband in the clan into which he marries is secondary or slightly disadvantageous. To describe it in familiar terms, it corresponds to the position of the wife of civilization marrying into the family of her husband—especially the case of the historic wife. In addition to the advantage of women over men there is to be found in the maternal clan the advantage of age over youth, which results in a régime of powerful older women.

By these the marriages are frequently arranged, the word "marriage" here being used to indicate, in the usual sense, a mating agreed upon within the restrictions now outlined. It is by these same older women that a husband may be expelled if he does not make good as an assistant provider and in other respects. He may return some fine day to find his tent opening turned significantly toward the west (as in Arabia), or his belongings just outside, which symbols he is bred to recognize as suggestive of divorce. Here woman has the upper hand, as man has it later. In other words it is commonly the "party in power" which exercises in its own interests the right of divorce, in domestic groups.

It will be seen that certain tendencies inhere in kinship clans thus organized, and that one of the most salient and persistent among these is the dominance of maternal uncles. This means that man in this mother-centered company is not without his position of strength, but that it manifests itself along the line of blood-ties, and not in relation to his wife or wives, or even in relation to his own children, who are but casually his own from the standpoint of kinship as here conceived. Man is important as a brother; as such he is of marked value to responsible woman, who needs his cooperation. In fact this is the only form in which the cooperation of woman with the male sex is feasible at an early stage. It is especially important that the boys as they approach adolescence shall have some sort of masculine patron to foster properly their masculine virtues: to teach them the arts of war, to inure them to danger, to make them into "men." They must frequently be inducted into the men's clubs abounding in these primitive days, and in all these matters it is the uncle who cares for the nephew, a uniquely intimate relation being established between the two. It must also be borne in mind that a strictly matrilineal system involves

the inheritance of the man's personal possessions by his nephews, not his children; and that succession in tribal office conforms to the same law. It may be noted also that a woman's brother is her available male ally in the discipline of all her children. In the light of all this it will be readily seen that the "avunculate," as it has been termed, is man's open door of opportunity, in a world largely dominated by womankind, and we shall not be surprised to discover that it is an opportunity which he does not pass by.

Although the intermarriage of all clan members is now strictly prohibited, there is as yet nothing to prevent the taking of plural partners in the proper social group. And just as a man may have several wives, so may a woman have several husbands—so far as the matter is defined by clan organization. It works out quite naturally in a system of this character that a group of sisters will mate not infrequently with a group of brothers, the polyandry of Thibet, to which we have already referred (the comparatively rare practice of the marriage of several husbands, usually brothers, by one woman), being probably a survival of this type of group marriage. And there are numerous other survivals pointing to this plural practice, which is at the same time a natural expression of the blurred sense of identity which marks these early people. This is further illustrated by a frequent failure in these societies to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate children, and by more or less indifference to the chastity of girls before marriage.

These latter comments imply that mating properly undertaken, that is, within the classes allowed, is a reasonably distinct affair, an alliance entered into with group sanction and some ceremony, and one to be dissolved only by approved methods of divorce. But group sanction in this case is family sanction, just as it continues to be in

this connection for many centuries. It is the kinship group which administers punishment when the tabus are violated, and it may be noted that the penalty for the offense of marrying into a prohibited class is frequently death. On the whole the individual relationship between partners is loose, although the natural pairing tendency makes for a certain limited attachment between the two supported less by law than jealousy—an attachment explaining the favorite wife of a later polygamous régime, and moving toward monogamy—at least toward that imperfectly realized life-partnership of which monogamy is the official name. That is, the natural mating exhibits, as we have already noted, a measure of selective feeling, and some spontaneous duration. Possibly we should begin to discriminate just here between the family itself, based on this natural pairing, and the broader kinship group to which have been applied such names as clan, gens or sib, and which, so far as its final structure is concerned, may be dominated either by men or by women.

But it is apparently the clan based on mother and not father descent which has been able to deal with primary social problems creatively or first-hand; which has been able to establish the great law of out-marrying,—at least this is the interpretation which has compelled acceptance in the present study. We now have a group of which the Good Spirit, Muramura has every reason to approve: a clan presenting a series of brothers and sisters and even maternal cousins among whom inbreeding is quite done away with. Marriage is thus forbidden between maternal cousins, their mothers being sisters, but the children of a brother and sister, classified as “cross-cousins” and reared in different clans, are commonly allowed and even encouraged to marry (a form of “preferential marriage,” or marriage affected by recommendation as well as prohibition).

What has not been accomplished, however, in the prevention of direct inbreeding, is regulation on the father's side to complete that on the mother's. The mating of half-sisters and half-brothers as related through the father is still quite obviously possible. Maternal organization in connection with this situation sets up no defenses. It is to the point to recall, in relation to this matter, that the wife of the Patriarch Abraham, according to the Bible narrative, was his sister on his father's side but not on his mother's, and that this kinship relation interfered in no way with the acceptability of his marriage—(a vestige pointing backward from patrilineal to matrilineal custom).

This leads to the consideration of a unique conception already touched upon and one without an understanding of which it is impossible to grasp the maternal system, either in its general character or its logical priority in social evolution. This is the conception which attaches to the father not only socially but physiologically much less importance than to the mother in relation to the child. As registered by the primitive mind he is very much less emphatically than she the child's parent, which must be taken to mean that literally, in point of heredity, the child is more particularly derived from her than from him. Among some tribes the mother is even actually regarded as the independent author of the child's being, the causal connection between the association of the sexes and child-birth having been missed completely. All this points to the position of the father in primitive society as one the appreciation of which demands developed thinking, together with firm substantiation by law—as the march of later events must prove. The post is to a certain degree artificial (so it would seem to the primitive mind); a social tour-de-force. It is interesting and even impressive to see a father of primitive days either fasting or himself assuming an illness during the accouchement of his partner—

that certain, natural mother—as if to say, I am the father, not to be ignored: the dignity of the coming event concerns me too: the child is mine as well as hers!

But we must not depart from the day of mothers into that of the rise of fathers (following the sequence accepted in these pages), until we have considered in the interests of a clear conception one further topic. We have presented as yet no technical solution to the difficulty of identifying those who may as opposed to those who may not marry, in the absence of written records. What was the actual, operative scheme to cover this requirement? How was it possible to keep clear these lineages, these blood-classifications, through the roving and interminglings of a peculiarly shifting life?

The answer to this question leads, as we have already hinted, to that most remarkable and interesting system of emblems, the totem-system, the very name of which comes from a word derived from Ojibway or allied Indian dialects indicating the blood tie between uterine sisters and brothers, or children of a common mother. It is a system of which the prevalence is world-wide, and which is almost invariably though not exclusively the accompaniment of metronymic customs, so that it presents itself at once as significantly related to the subject of descent through women. As for the haunting mystery attached to the early relations between animals and men and suggested by the totem-system,—this we shall not attempt to fathom. And it is not possible just here to touch upon the enormously complex religious and social meaning of the scheme in question. It is sufficient for us to know that these bizarre beasts and birds with which the eye is somewhat familiar, these creatures of strange form and barbaric color, pertain to a practical plan, their leading use being the literal identification of those who may and those who may not marry.

Turning for purposes of illustration to a clan with the totem "turtle," we find a body of maternal kinsfolk who consider that this species has been to it in some mysterious ancestral way a source of life. Each clan member bears obviously the name of "turtle," passed down by a maternal ancestress (possibly, in more numerous companies, the name "mud turtle," or "striped turtle"), which sign may appear as tattooed on the body, painted on possessions, or exalted on a totem-pole at the entrance of a lodge. The chief practical use of this mark or sign wherever it appears is to brand all "turtles" as such, so that they may not intermarry. The intermating of all turtle-folk being thus clearly tabu, the bars are at the same time let down between the clans of different totems—turtle and crow, for example, or heron and wild duck. Sometimes there occur in addition to prohibitions, elaborately prescribed schemes of mating. Of these systems, in any case, the totem is the foundation in the task of keeping track of persons, or of registering social classes.

But it is not possible to establish these social lines and to keep them distinct by brands alone. Nothing is more interesting than the further system of tabus or avoidances which serve to protect these family frontiers at actual points of contact. To understand these modes we must remember that sex-consciousness in primitive life is keyed high, partly because extensive reproduction at this time has all points in its favor, partly because there are not as yet developed the numerous impersonal interests which relieve its tensions. For these reasons it is no small matter to accomplish a society which holds to its own pattern—just as it is no small matter to achieve this even today, with today's advantages. Innumerable curious primitive customs show just how indefatigably these difficulties have been coped with, and, we must believe, with increasing success. The several instances which follow illustrate

society's further effort to define its form, in this case to give a higher degree of purity and firmness to the actual family relation, as distinguished from the larger grouping.

Up to this point we have examined a bold and ingenious and profitable effort to restrict inbreeding by the defining of maternal kinship, and the prevention of marriage within its limits. We come now upon a supplementary body of rules and customs with another object: there present themselves for consideration a wide range of what we may call parent-in-law avoidances. That is, we are no longer dealing with a man's relation to his actual kinsfolk, but to those affiliated persons called, in the American vernacular, his "in-laws." We discover that this frontier of propinquity is strictly guarded; that custom is intended to save from sexual temptation those who are not relations, but who, because of their formal family position, must not mate. For example, a girl in many cases must not so much as look into the face of her father-in-law, just as a son must not look his mother-in-law in the face. Among some peoples a son accidentally meeting his mother-in-law at some remote point must make a detour; or he may be expected to cover his face with his shield. Among other peoples a man must not only refrain from approaching or touching his wife's mother: he must not take food from her, except through a third person, and he must never address her directly except in the presence of others. Girls are usually urged to special precautions along lines of modesty in the presence of these relatives not actually such. Sometimes a signal of approach on the part of such a one admits of a decorous adjustment of dress, or the girl may be expected at a chance meeting to muffle her face.

All of these customs intimately relate themselves to a general sex-segregation, which results in the frequent development of clubs for men and boys, and the withdrawal of the girls into special feminine groups at the time

of adolescence. The industrial organization of early society, as we have already seen, fosters this social division, and it is psychologically sustained not only by sex-consciousness, but by sex-consciousness in the process of escaping from itself in the name of law and order. This type of primitive conscience is illustrated in our own day by the relatively marked segregation of the sexes in the social life of small towns, where a certain impersonal and cosmopolitan freedom is not yet attained, so that there is slight common ground apart from the sharply personal relation.

But primitive society is not without its own higher sophistications. In the notable instance of the Iroquois Indians we have a clear example of intelligent social and political cooperation between men and women—an example of the metronymic clan in which the reckoning of descent through women is coupled with an expanded power and prestige on their part. Among the Iroquois tribes of the region of New York State all adults both male and female were admitted to the council or democratic assembly where they enjoyed equal suffrage—a fact not without its irony, since it was not until the year 1917 and after a series of difficult and sacrificial campaigns on their part that the white women of approximately the same territory were able to secure like rights and privileges. Centuries before this date the men and women of such tribes as the Senecas were together electing officers, and interestingly enough we find them together exercising in connection with these governing officials the right of recall. And even a higher type of political power is to be found among the women of the Wyandots or Hurons (although the example is less purely matrilineal). Here the gens or clan was governed by a council of one man and four women, the women being elected by the women of their clan, the one male member or gentile chief being chosen

by the four! This chief, following the lines of maternal organization, was selected from their sons or brothers, and after a probationary period, during which time he was denied vote or voice, he was (if approved) confirmed in office. Witness the installation ceremony in which the duly elected chief is invested with an elaborate tunic—by the women—his face painted (by them) with the clan totem, his head crowned with proud feathers! When we consider that the tribal council among these people was made up of the combined clan councils, and was thus three-fourths women, we observe a power on their part which cannot be gainsaid.

So much for a brief and imperfect sketch of this clan of mothers, in which, however, man is beginning to emerge as a mightily resilient person. His tribal organization grows articulate, is more and more removed from the mere herd or pack, is an agency of power. Moreover, in the very heart of the kinship organization he stands forth as uncle—with we know not what growing scope. But to proceed with these transitions is to anticipate a following chapter: although the term “transitions” is only applicable to the situation when we have once conceded the priority of the mother-grouping, and are prepared to throw the whole phenomena of primitive life into this perspective. It is sufficient to add, at the point which we have now reached by this particular procedure, that the tribal organization of which man is the leader is structurally related to the marriage plan as now established in one way: it is the outer limit of remoteness, or “endogamous” limit, the line beyond which one must not pass in mating, just as in certain of the United States the white race is made the endogamous limit, as defined by laws forbidding the marriage of whites with blacks, or whites with Orientals. That is, while it is possible to unite with one too nearly related, from the standpoint of the common

good, it is also possible to mate with one too far removed (as in the case of the decadent half-breed, who like the type produced by too close inbreeding is apt to drop below the standard of racial fitness). Thus are established by primitive society the inner and outer rim of that area in which, according to early standards, it seems well to marry; and within these limits there begins to define itself, as we have seen, a family whose outline is increasingly distinct.

So much for an attempt to elucidate the earlier stages of primitive society by a composite plan of which the articulate vestiges (if they may be so called) are found in all quarters of the earth—such vestiges as matrilocal residence, the dominance of uncles, inheritance through nephews, the marriage by woman of a group of brothers (as in polyandry), above all the reckoning of descent through women. In a following chapter we shall consider the matter of the dominance of mothers in the more interesting and significant forms it assumes in the backgrounds of developed culture, of civilization.

CHAPTER IV

THE PASSING OF THE MOTHER AGE

WHETHER or not it is possible to establish all that may be claimed by the extreme enthusiast, the dominance of woman in primitive social life is a key which slips with surprising nicety into a baffling lock. The interpretation has first of all inner necessity, inherent logic. It also serves to explain numbers of scattered instances of kinship organization which fit felicitously together on these terms, falling into articulation like the fine fragments of the Greek torso eloquently described by Tolstoi. Moreover, in addition to the extremely numerous examples or traces of the maternal system found in America, Africa, Asia, Australia, and widely scattered islands, we have as corroboratory evidence the numerous impressive legends of the historic peoples attaining civilization, peoples of greater fitness, the victorious races; stories and myths which continually celebrate the prestige of woman, in the midst of their curious welter of sacred (at least mythologically sacred) and profane experience. It is impossible to ignore as meaningless such figures as the grey-eyed Athene, impersonating wisdom, the "parthenos" or virgin to whom was dedicated the immortally beautiful Parthenon of Athens, and other exalted women figures prominent in the myths and religions of all peoples; to forget the stirring legend of the Amazons, that race of physically superb and war-like women, daughters of the gods, reputed to have held their men in servitude while they themselves, equipped with lance and shield, entered into astounding contests with Greek heroes, forcing them to defend at one time even Athens against their assault.

But beyond the stimulating suggestion of these backgrounds we have, persisting into historic times, societies which eloquently confirm the early rank and prestige of woman, with hints of a veritable matriarchate developed along the lines we have attempted to define—societies as mysterious as they are arresting in that they have carried into advanced civilization the maternal tendency, thus breaking the historic rule that civilization marks woman's downfall. Over five thousand years ago in the sophisticated cultures of Babylon and Egypt we find a body of laws, customs and attitudes which exalt the status of woman to a point beyond anything with which we are familiar, even as moderns. Indeed it may be insisted that the social prestige and position of woman among these peoples at this remote period and through centuries to follow was somewhat above that of man. On the whole woman is here better off and more highly honored and even more graciously loved, apparently, than among the progressive peoples of our own day in which her rank is considered high; and what is especially interesting to students of social organization, the customs in question are distinctly matriarchal not only in trend and spirit, but in the sense of pertaining to a fairly specific order, with its characteristic traits. While the evidence of this situation is not abundant, it is definite and surprising, and it falls immediately into alignment or harmonious pattern. Just where this development strikes into the cycle of social evolution we are not prepared to say. It does in any case substantiate the claim of woman to do and be, proposing a bewildering reversal of all that Asiatic and European history have conventionally established as her orthodox position in advanced social stages.

According to monumental relics with their notable inscriptions the scope and prestige of Egyptian women was such as to inspire with envy the feminist of today, and it

is a matter of especial interest that this range and freedom on her part are coupled with a charming serenity in family relations, as repeatedly attested to in these living fragments. So favorable indeed to woman are these ancient codes and historic bits, portraying her in both public and private life, that they may be said to have no counterpart in subsequent historic records. They are furthermore confirmed by the considerably later accounts of travellers in Egypt—of Herodotus, for example, who is amazed at woman's status, and who reports to his man-governed and patriarchal world of Greece that the relations between the sexes in Egypt are upside-down: a point of view which will grow intelligible as we study the classic world, reading more deeply into that history of which this tourist was the father. It is to be imagined, however, that these conditions presented to Herodotus no aspect of charm, but were rather disturbing on the contrary, like the manners of the Lycians whom he found to have "one custom peculiar to them, and in which they agree with no other people, that is, they call themselves after their mothers and not their fathers; and if one ask his neighbor who he is he will state his mother's parentage and enumerate his fore-mothers."

But this particular custom was not so unique, even at this time, as Herodotus supposed, for in Egypt itself he might have noted on innumerable sepulchral tablets the name of the mother but not the father of the deceased, as for example, "Sebekreda born of Sent," the latter being a woman's name. It is further of significance, as touching this matter of names, that the ancient Egyptians were not characterized by the distinct genealogical sense marking later civilizations, probably traceable in these to the conscious effort of building up a social system based on the none too obvious position of the father, and of registering descent through him. Interestingly enough we find

the names of animals not infrequently used among the Egyptians, as if in reminiscence of a totemic system—as for example, “Wild Lion,” “Daughter of the Crocodile”; and there exist along with these other spontaneous names which convey the spirit of family relations if not their actual structure. A child may be named for instance, “Beautiful Day,” or “Beautiful Morning,” or it may be called “Acceptable,” or “Welcome”—the latter graciously hospitable names being appropriate to either sex, we can imagine, before the historic day of unwanted girls. Other names applied by parents to their children are “Their Riches,” “Praise,” “Beloved”—to which may be added a list of diminutive or pet names in euphony not unlike our own. This somewhat irresponsible touch regarding lineage (suggested rather than established by numerous examples) points to the sufficiency of mothers at this stage, an inference further confirmed by the fact that the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children was not keen.

Another interesting item referring back to the generalized relations examined in a previous chapter is the fact that several brothers and several sisters in the Egyptian family were frequently given the same name. In the light of this and other similar tendencies it is quite possible that the brother and sister marriages for which the Egyptians have been especially notorious are not to be accounted for in terms of the decadence to which they are sometimes traced, but that they are rather to be explained as vestiges of an earlier order in which this type of mating was not discredited or classified as incest. It has been suggested also that brother and sister marriages especially in royal groups have stood for an effort on the part of male descendants to break into the succession of property and official dignity as reckoned through the female line, the brother becoming in this case, through marriage with the sister, co-heir with her to the benefits from which he is

individually excluded. These various items, too slight in their implication to be expanded into a system, are yet related to a haunting background intimately associated with that other which we have already attempted to define. Here, as in all dealings with the matriarchal vestige, the historian is forced to proceed rather by ear than by note, making no pretense at gathering his stimulating clues into the form of final proof.

As to the status of Egyptian woman, we may safely say that nearly four thousand years before the Christian era she was not confined to the traditional home as her "place," but was playing an important part in industrial, commercial and social life. Antedating by many centuries the development of Greece and Rome there have been discovered numerous and significant contracts testifying to her scope and freedom. She was able to make such contracts in her own right and for her own benefit. She could bring action and plead her own case in court. She practiced medicine and she officiated in temples as priestess. She apparently shared the freedom of her husband in the social world, enjoying a privilege entirely denied to later Asiatic women and Greek wives—attendance at banquets and other affairs of public character in common with men. It would seem that with the single exception of war the Egyptian woman entered into all the affairs open to her father, husband and sons. And it is to the point to add in this connection that at a much later period the famous Cleopatra as queen of Egypt was one of the first women rulers to act in her own person as general, conceiving and directing military and naval maneuvers.

The most significant and interesting remains, however, are the marriage contracts—their strange and graven characters testifying to the relation of living men and women thousands of years ago, and recreating by their vivid touches the lost picture of flowing human life. In

view of the difficulty with which the property rights of woman and especially married woman have been secured to her in our own day, we read admiringly of this Egyptian world in which the woman retained on marriage the possession of her own property, frequently supplemented by the property of her husband, made over as a gift. We find here repeated evidence not only of joint partnership, but of an arrangement uniquely favorable to the wife. It was usual, apparently, for the husband's deeds to be endorsed by the wife, while his endorsement of hers was not necessary. One of the most striking terms of the marriage contract was that the husband was obliged to stipulate how much he would give his wife as a yearly allowance for her support. The entire property of the husband was at times pledged as security for these payments. The wife was further protected by a dowry or charge on her husband to be paid in the event of his sending her away, or divorce. According to one contract, we find the wife responsible, financially, in the event of her disposing of or deserting her marital partner, a third part of all of her goods in this case being assured to him. As to the bride-price with which we are familiar in later civilizations, this did not exist in the form of a dowry to increase the value of the bride in the eyes of her suitor, that is, to effect a sale of the bride by her parents. A sum of money went instead to the bride herself, and, like divorce, was a private matter, involving no action on the part of church or state. It was supported in the main rather by public opinion and custom than coercive measures—another matriarchal note. And although the occasional polygamy of the rich occurs in this as in other civilizations, marriage is commonly here a relation between one man and one woman.

From the standpoint of law and contract, however, there is a noticeable tone of freedom and even license, as con-

trusted with the later historic exactions restricting woman and not man. But the legalistic aspect of the situation alone—as ever—does not tell the story. It is particularly interesting to see in these unique inscriptions—codes, precepts and proverbs—that the members of a family under this régime are commonly bound together, as we have already hinted, by a peculiarly gracious love. We look in vain for the note of historic cynicism with respect to the marriage bond; for the age-old familiar slurs regarding woman (as aligned in a later chapter). We find instead incomparable passages in praise of woman, wifehood, motherhood, as for example in the following charming fragments interestingly assembled by Mrs. Gallichan from both Babylonian and Egyptian records. The wife is “glad and gladdening like the midday sun,” is described as “set in honor.” Again, “like a wife thou behavest thyself, cheerful and rejoicing.” But the happily free position of woman is also etched in with that which is for us a touch of comedy. We discover the husband in these days rather than the wife seeking advice in connection with domestic problems. “If thou wouldst be a wise man,” says Petah Hotep, a high official (3360 B.C.), evidently addressing such a one by way of guidance, “rule thy house and love thy wife wholly and constantly. Feed her and clothe her, love her tenderly and fulfil her desires as long as thou livest, for she is an estate which confers great reward upon her lord.” To which he adds—with a growing instinct of expediency and wisdom: “Be not hard to her, for she will be more readily moved by persuasion than by force. Observe that which she wisheth, and that on which her mind runneth, thereby thou shalt make her to stay in thy house”—(note that it is this time the husband who is inspired to make home attractive). And with this impressive sentence the passage is brought to a close: “If thou resisteth her will it is ruin.”

Anyone who has a fear that power and freedom in women is destined to be divorced from the tender regard of men must read the following passage (from the same choice anthology), a passage nowhere surpassed or even equalled as a tribute from man to motherhood. We shall see how there is no such note struck in all the splendor of classic civilization. Kneusu-Hetep, the sage, (1500 B.C.) is speaking to his son:

“Thou shalt never forget thy mother and what she has done for thee. From the beginning she has borne a heavy burden with thee in which I have been unable to help her. Wert thou to forget her, then she might blame thee, lifting up her arms to God, and he would hearken to her. For she carried thee long beneath her heart, a heavy burden, and after thy months were accomplished she bore thee. Three long years she carried thee upon her shoulder and gave thee her breast to thy mouth, and as thy size increased her heart never once allowed her to say, ‘Why should I do this?’ And when thou didst go to school and wast instructed in the writings, daily she stood by thy master with bread and beer from the house.”

So late as the first century B.C., Diodorus, writing from a point of view normal to his Greek origin and Roman environment, confirms Herodotus in his impressions of the relations between men and women in Egypt. He declares that the queen receives more power than the king, among the Egyptians, and that among private individuals the woman rules over the man. This situation is explained by him as the result of the preëminence of the feminine deity, Isis, who is seen to take precedence over her brother and mate, Osiris. Certainly there is, in reality, a profound significance in the attitudes of a people toward their feminine and masculine gods, and the correlation of these attitudes with the social status of men and women strikes the keynote of an historic interpretation which must be

sustained through the richly complicated unfoldment of human life, even though the deities themselves, in this instance, may be conceived as rather the result of certain social attitudes than their cause. In any case the mutual importance of masculine and feminine figures appears in all Egyptian relics and remains, from portrayals of the gods to representations of royal family groups. It has been noted that in all of these there is a marked likeness between men and women in expression as well as in attire, as if there had been attained an actual rapprochement of the sexes, in this ancient culture.

Whatever we may permit ourselves to infer from such fragmentary facts, suggesting the cultural outlines of ancient Babylon as well as Egypt, it is beyond dispute that we are here dealing—before the day of consecutive history—with peoples steadily modified and even inspired by a maternal force. In the primitive world, as we have seen, this force has exhibited itself in actual forms and tendencies so widespread, so variously distributed, as to point to a natural stage of social evolution, rather than to occasional fortuitous circumstances here and there favoring the advance of woman. We have found in any case in the primitive social state an articulate organization with women at its center, with the result of a limiting of inbreeding, a fortifying of child-care through the support of mothers by their maternal kinsfolk, and a mighty development of the talents and capacities of woman as a worker. Society has at least achieved a conscious family form involving permissions and restrictions in the field of mating, conceived in terms of the common good, at the same time developing emotions of social allegiance and kinship love based on the maternal tie.

In fact it is almost a temptation to look upon this type of organization with romantic eyes (as was actually done by the German Socialist Engels), because we have here an

order securing to its members—in spite of its many faults—some of the socially desirable conditions lost to the later world. In the first place there was no such thing as personal poverty in this type of organization. In the maternal clan all members shared alike, all were alike supported. It was the mothers in the main under these conditions who apportioned food, and it was as impossible to conceive of the inclusion of some persons and the exclusion of others as it would have been impossible to imagine the pursuit of such a policy among their own children. That no one was overlooked was natural and not charitable: it would have been astonishing in these days to have conceived it otherwise. While it is true that no one was independent with respect to the ownership of property (except in the narrowest personal sense), or in a position to enjoy independent “success,” it is also true that no one was expected to face alone the results of disaster. There were hard times, bad seasons, periods of famine, but these were met in common. There was no such thing as dropping by the wayside unnoticed. Society in these days, naturally and without special dispensation, cared for its backward children.

Another virtue of this early world was that it was still innocent with respect to caste; it was largely democratic. There was as yet no social ladder, with its facilities for ascent and descent, although this was to appear at an early date. Perhaps it was in such a world as this that there originated even at the heart of savagery such qualities as “gentleness” and “kindness”—words which point to a feeling realized first and most easily among those united to one another by blood ties, and living within the gens or group of assembled kin. It is highly probable that the first natural or pairing family, was dominated by the strength, the jealousies and passions of the competing male. But the first order of society, or plan

of regulation, has flowed apparently from the hand of united mothers, of coördinated womankind, so that the maternal or care-taking spirit is apparently the first human influence able to make of society anything like a living tissue. These sentiments of kinship, based on a sense of literal brotherhood and sisterhood, must be seen, then, as an immense advance upon mere passion and self-seeking hunger, as a marked social gain; although these same feelings were to become in due time a narrowing bond, assailed by the Messiah in his effort to break down even kinship barriers as divisions among men, and threatened again through the obscure but mighty processes of current civilization. It must be seen however that this kinship love having its source in mothers was the first love which man (in the masculine sense) was able to grasp, and humanly it was salvation; for it encircled him with social warmth at a time when his aggressions and hostilities, unmodified, were in danger of converting him into a shrewd and successful animal only.

But it must be recognized that the communal virtues of the clan or gens are not confined alone to mother-centered groups. In all of the areas of the globe where we find clans reckoning descent through women we find other clans, also in crude and primitive stages, reckoning their descent through men. It may be roughly estimated, as we have already noted, that the two, numerically speaking, are fairly equal in their distribution. This has led such authoritative students as Dr. Lowie to insist on the diverse origins of social institutions, and to support the theory that society has arrived at its present form by two paths and not one—or indeed by many paths. That is, he assumes a clanless organization at the beginning, out of which in certain tribes a matrilineal condition has arisen, while others have evolved a patrilineal clan system. Certainly if we look upon primitive society as it exists

today as upon a flat painted curtain we shall see described on the surface an enormously varied pattern, including not only mother-centered and father-centered groups, but innumerable modifications and combinations of the two. We shall see the matrilineal clan which we have described, in all stages of dismemberment: descent reckoned through mothers in clans dominated by fathers, the avunculate apparently broken from its moorings, matrilineal residence associated with and dissociated from the system to which it should properly pertain, and many other discrepancies and contradictions. And in addition to the primitive groups presenting these typically defined clan forms, we find, especially in the far Western section of North America, various clanless tribes—peoples whose family associations do not betray what we have been tempted to regard as a fundamental social structure. In addition to all these irregularities we have those modifications observable on the frontiers of civilization, where the “higher” culture frequently demoralizes the lower, confusing or half eliminating its native outlines.

It is yet possible to contemplate this extremely various social surface as if it involved different depths and stages, and from this standpoint it is feasible to hold to the maternal clan as a primary and structural form,—(granting at the same time a certain mystery attached to all origins). And it is not difficult to discover in the maternal scheme serious limitations to which may be logically traced its downfall. In this way society is held in a kind of perspective which provides for the recession of primitive woman as social leader and the advance of man.

CHAPTER V

THE ASCENT OF MAN

SOCIETY once organized into maternal clans, it is not difficult to imagine the taking over of the organization by man, under the pressure of increasing numbers—a multiplication fostered by better food, shelter and weapons, a lower rate of inbreeding, and in general higher modes of living. Especially with the domestication of animals it was no longer possible for woman to continue as she had done with her composite burden. There was infinitely more work to be performed, and the program had to be provided for in a different way. The casual and adventurous character of man's life had to change. While there had been a certain merit of democracy in a society without caste, it became necessary for industrial reasons to throw people into positions of leadership and subordination. Economy was required. Tasks needed to be made specific. The subjection of woman and the rise of slavery appear at this point hand in hand. And there is a certain austere dignity about the picture, in spite of the sacrifice of personal rights to which we are so acutely sensitive today. The mastery and dominion of man begin to suggest themselves at least in outline, as the entire mass of humanity begins to swing into new positions at his behest and to enter upon its immense undertaking of subduing the natural world.

Up to the point we have now reached it had been man's habit to accept the world about him and his adventures in it in terms of good fortune or ill luck, with appeals to his gods for the continual intervention of magic to save the day. Evidently there dawns upon him at this time a

different conception: the possibility of organizing, controlling and subduing; of entering upon a campaign of conquest. It is probable that all this arises in his mind at a point of talent, of organizing genius—an ability now ready for its real opportunity. He has to start with the beginnings of a tribe, a more or less loose implement in his hands at the outset and one which has been useful hitherto mainly in connection with his enemies. With the more vital family relations now determined by the maternal gens, he consciously or unconsciously rises to a position of domination. To meet a variety of pressing demands he assumes, himself, a more extensive authority and direction.

We have here at least certain of the economic and industrial considerations accounting for the shift of leadership in primitive society from woman to man. But it is possible that other considerations even more vital than these were instrumental in forcing the change. The maternal family form as we have seen leaves man, the father, in a weak and ambiguous position in domestic life. There is no positive way for him to identify his own offspring, the fact that he and his wife belong to different totemic clans divides them from one another, and his position from first to last is rather parasitic than independent, in a society whose issues are largely determined by the older women. It is only as uncle that he is able to exert a sort of slanting rather than direct power, and it is not surprising that he shares with modern woman an objection to the “indirect influence” to which the situation restricts him.

Of man’s uprising, his rebellion, his counterpart of the “woman movement”—(to introduce a faintly amusing implication), we have no very direct report; but the affair is registered to a certain degree in the manners and customs which mark the gradual withdrawal of woman from matriarchal prominence; the gradual subsidence of

her rights and exercise of power. For example, among certain Arabian tribes we see the bride being inducted into her position of subjection through the ceremony of sewing a seam in her husband's tent to show her willingness to serve him. During this procedure we may note an interesting survival of a former hour: as part of the ceremonial the kinsfolk of the bride cry out to her—"Why do you bend over it? Your mother lives, your father lives!" But what was once a really fortifying influence now passes into the mere symbolism of a ceremonial, historically significant but losing all practical force as time goes on. It is this cry of protecting kinsmen which is destined to grow faint to the point of vanishment as we approach the day when the bride according to widespread custom is forcibly dragged over her husband's threshold, to occupy the position of a captured or purchased person, relinquished by her family at this point practically without terms, so far as she is affected.

Along with this change of position there develops steadily the strange world-wide superstition that woman is "unclean"—a belief resulting in numerous tabus or prohibitions concerning her and involving her exclusion, in primitive as in later life, from participation in the more important phases of religious ceremony. We have here the beginnings of the distinctly masculine conception which is to color all history, except that of the very ancient civilizations to which we have referred and which are not easily placed in the sequence of social evolution. This emerging attitude may be studied to excellent advantage among Australian tribes, where the father-centered clan may be observed at a low stage of culture, and in juxta-position to mother-centered clans and others presenting a variety of phases of disintegration, transition and combination.

It is however, in connection with the more promising

pastoral peoples, the peoples of better racial stock and more extensive activity, that we are to trace that rise of man which is to continue for centuries unarrested, expressing itself in a surprisingly homogeneous patriarchal civilization destined to cover practically the known world. Following the domestication of cattle and the growth of flocks there appears among these racial groups an inevitable change in the relations of men and women—a development which may be studied to excellent advantage in the sequences and unfoldments of Semitic culture. So long as it was possible to depend upon woman's kitchen garden, supplemented by the results of hunting raids, a fairly fixed home center could be held to by the kinship group. The possessor of flocks and herds, on the other hand, was obliged to range more widely—so widely, indeed, that he could no longer keep in touch with his wife's kinship clan, in the majority of cases. The wife at this point was possibly forced into a position where she had to choose between kinship group and husband: to settle the matter of "domicile" once for all. She either had to follow her husband on his journeyings or abandon the tie. Here is a situation demanding a new code and threatening the old one. The lot of woman is evidently cast at this point with her roving husband—at least this is one of the several explanations which may be advanced to account for the mighty change in question.

It is probable, however, that this impressive shift with respect to domestic leadership was accomplished in part by a more drastic method. There was to man no more exhilarating result of his increasingly numerous wars than the taking of women captives. In connection with this bewildering plunder he tasted for the first time the satisfying sense of downright possession. Here there were no assembled relatives with whom it was necessary to negotiate or make terms, no ceaseless obligations; no

powerful marriage law defended by an armed group of kinsmen. In relation to his "war-bride" man was able to escape completely the bondage of a contract. Here was a new and altogether appealing conception of what a wife might be: to sum up the matter in the simplest terms, she was *his*, without let or hindrance. If he were to go to the end of the world, her domicile would follow his: would establish itself in no matter what Ultime Thule, without debate. Along a somewhat similar line of logic there develops a slave class—so that we see in the life of man the beginning of a sense of property in persons as well as cattle. It is even necessary for him in this new rôle of owner to acquire a new set of virtues, appropriate to his state: to set up, for example, such precepts as "Thou shalt not covet," and "Thou shalt not steal," at least to read into these (if they existed before) a new importance.

In connection with these new practices and this new viewpoint it was entirely in order that there should have occurred to man the desirability of acquiring wives by purchase. It is interesting to note as a symptom of transition just here that in certain African tribes a prospective husband is confronted with alternatives. He may either pay the bride-price, in which case he is allowed to take his "woman" with him, or he may without payment take up marital life with her in her own group. This instance brings out with considerable distinctness the character of the transaction and what the bride-price buys. It is clear enough in all cases that there is purchased by means of it a "right" in woman, disposed of by her kinsfolk for a consideration. Their claim in her (at once their right and her protection) is disposed of by her kinsmen in the open market. She is passed over to her husband at this point practically without group support and without status. In this transaction, whether she be squaw or lady, man has become her master. She may be

purchased (in the former instance) for a string of shells, a blanket or some ponies; often, as in the familiar Bible instance of Rachel and Jacob, for a period of labor.

With respect to qualifications for wifehood in these days it is evident that a wife is expected to be a worker. Prettiness is indeed an asset, but beauty alone will not divert this husband in the majority of cases from his practical aim. (He is deft at all times, also, in securing beauty in extra-marital form.) Engaged in a momentous work, he must have workers. He is hewing out a plan. His project covers the support and handling of growing groups of people, along with increasing flocks and herds. In order to make his goal he organizes, he subordinates and he enslaves. And in addition to the desirability of commanding the services of his wife or wives in these connections it is of the utmost importance that he be able to command and identify his children, particularly his sons.

It is quite possible, indeed, that the latter consideration was a primary one in effecting the change from mother-rule to father-rule—so keen is its significance. With the firm adoption of his wife or wives as his own, man has completely disposed of the system of group or plural marriage, so far as women are concerned, and has thus established his paternity. The women of his choice enter henceforth into marital relation with no one but himself. It will be observed that freedom for husbands continues practically unrestricted; but the one-sided limitation now imposed upon domestic life does accomplish its desired purpose of establishing descent down a paternal line. The children born within man's newly outlined domestic circle are all his. His offspring are identified. He has established between his wife or wives and himself a single and inviolable bond (at least inviolable, so far as they are concerned); with which victorious stroke he has secured

to himself his sons. The day of the uncertainty of fatherhood is now brought to a close. From now on throughout all history as so far recorded (with few exceptions) his children are to bear his name. At the same time, and by the same stroke, they are in a position to become his heirs, (his property no longer taking a circuitous path to nephews). These new tendencies are gradually to assert themselves in religious forms—an elaborate system of the worshiping of male ancestors, a glorying in their deeds. History now begins, essentially as the saga of one who is to be henceforth known and worshiped by admiring descendants.

The ascent of man and the descent of woman are thus initiated in the affairs of humankind. Yet it is only fair to grant that the mother-centered system which appeared so admirably to foster the life of woman could have been continued only at man's expense. He was not in the way of becoming a responsible being either as worker or as father, and especially as the latter he was being continually denied a vital rôle. The natural family, composed of mother, father and children, as we spontaneously picture it, was a group left for its unity to the transient ties of instinct, and defeated rather than supported by the first scheme of organization. This mother and father as we have seen were more closely identified with their totemic clans than with one another—a situation finding its extreme statement in their occasional line-up on opposing sides of an actual battle. In addition to this they were both free, within the limits of kinship tabus, to take plural partners, with the result that there was no premium placed on a fixed relation between them. While the natural family form undoubtedly asserted itself as a deep-rooted tendency, it was in a position to be easily demoralized by the variable reactions of human nature, unsteadied by either social law or sentiment.

This loose construction, it may be insisted, was in reality more detrimental to woman as mother than to man as father, so that the advantages which we have ascribed with some enthusiasm to primitive woman may have had after all a defect at the core. At least this argument is plausible and serves to prepare the way or offer an apology for the unequal system which man is to inaugurate—a system in which woman is to appear henceforth as a tributary person, and one who has dropped astonishingly in social status. In any case, if there is one undeniable flaw in the earlier plan, it is the cleavage between parents. It was not only impossible in this situation for man and wife to attempt a mutual responsibility in the care of their offspring; it was equally impossible for them to identify the sex tie with any form of sustained love. While little headway was made in this latter respect under the rule of fathers, a basis for both responsibility and sentiment was laid in the attainment of a structural unity between marital partners, in their permanent association.

This unity it must be confessed was to prove largely the unity between slave and master, between one who has surrendered his will and status in the service of another and that other; and it resulted in a “domestication” which changed the type of woman very much as it has changed the character of other living creatures subjected to its process. She became above all docile, obedient, plastic, available for use; no longer capable of electric action, the production of savage beauty. Except in flashing instances, the breaks and flaws in history—an occasional limited expressiveness here and there, in this class and in that—woman as wife was for centuries to bear her yoke with entire quietude, to play with patience and attentiveness and uncritical fidelity (the slave virtues) her written rôle.

The situation as it stands, then, is somewhat as follows.

Man has retained for himself entire freedom with respect to the things of sex, but has conceived and exalted in the case of woman a new virtue, that of fidelity, or chastity as defined by the marriage bond. In father-centered groups he is still able to continue his plural relations with womankind, either through frankly plural wives, as in the case of polygamy, or through such supplementary women as concubines and slaves, where the system requires one legal or official wife. It may be noted that everywhere throughout his system limited circumstances incline him to life with one rather than several partners, but this is rather an economic than a moral consideration, and his plural relations commonly flourish where he has enough wealth to sustain them. It is with the stroke of a conqueror that he has thus imposed upon his women chastity with respect to all but himself, while he reserves at the same time without a shadow of reciprocity or mutual accountability his own freedom. In the case of woman monogamy is established; but there continues in the case of man group marriage, a plurality of partners. And thus we are ushered into the presence of that time-honored "double standard" which is intelligible, historic, and distinctly social; in no sense the mysterious and hidden verity in the life of men and women which it is sometimes supposed to be. It is clear that this plural practice on the part of men may be carried on without confusing the business of reckoning descent through fathers, if mothers are entirely faithful; so that the only limitation which men accept for themselves in this field comes from a decent respect for the property rights of one another; they are not to covet, and above all not to appropriate, one another's wives, any more than the oxen or asses belonging to one another.

It is upon this new basis then, the certainty of paternity, that man begins to build his house of civilization. For

civilization as we know it, exalted or degraded, a baffling complex of both, paltry and yet heroic, is man-made. We are entering at this point into a long and enormously important period which is to concern itself exclusively with the exploits of man. So dominant are his thoughts, so extensive his régime, that woman as an individual has faded to mere legend. She has become man's tributary; and although as we have seen it has been a victorious move on his part which has made her his own, he is in reality unable to admire the dependent posture into which he has thrown her. She shares with every subject class a loss of rank and honor not to be redeemed by the most painstaking service. The fact is unmistakable. We shall find henceforth in all parts of the world (for the system is world-wide) allusions to her in terms of visible or veiled contempt; for while she plays her rôle with the dutifulness and unbroken patience of the subaltern, if not indeed the slave, she is unable to escape her position in the psychology of conquest; that is, with all the ornamental beauty which she rapidly develops, her grace, her power to please, she is palpably the conquered. She has somehow sold her birth-right. There is evidently an insufficient magic in her maternal function, her subservience in wifehood—although these two are (strangely enough) exalted to the most approved position in the score as man has composed it for her.

This curious perversity in the attitude of man toward woman, in the hour of her most complete accommodation to his purposes, prevails throughout his kingdom as it establishes itself in all periods and all places; it utters itself in every language and dialect in the earth's four quarters, uniting all masculinekind in a strangely cynical common tongue. Throughout the entire period of man's dominion, in primitive life as in all civilization, we find with the rarest possible exceptions one attitude toward

womankind, fixed and orthodox; the perfect and universal and unquestioning contempt of man for a lesser creature; for one whose existence is, like that of the domestic animals, relative to his own and not intrinsic. It will be to the point to consider in a following chapter not only the patriarchal family of civilization in its salient structure, but a mass of comments on the position and status of woman gathered from the chronicles of widely varying nations.

CHAPTER VI

THE PATRIARCHATE

HAVING traced the development and gradual displacement of a maternal order, we are to stand from now on in the presence of the release of the power of man, that captain of world-enterprise, monopolist of history! How shall we keep him in perspective, once he has his will? How shall we resist, in the interests of justice, his overwhelming claim? He is so towering, magnificent: from the almost limitless fertility of his mind there flow (as from a master play-wright) government, science, art, mechanics. He is a man of iron, and yet a poet too, his variety beyond belief. It is not surprising, it is pardonable, that in the midst of this immense and fruitful productivity he, the masculine one, should have exalted himself as Man, that is to say, mankind. The sparkle and brilliancy of woman are subdued in such a presence. Her light is a mild moonlight. She has now left the maternal clan with no saving tie, to be henceforth associated with a paternal group in which she is a stranger. Shall we not believe that there attaches itself to this hour for her a wistfulness, as of the alien—accompanied possibly by a fine zest and spirit in the taking of a risk, the hazard of experience? We have observed, however, that the change for woman is indeed a fall with respect to status. Her conqueror is not gracious: she is appraised by him with entire coolness, once she is his own, and he expresses himself as to her value in no uncertain terms.

“A cow is worth more than a thousand women,” runs the East Indian proverb, and we shall find that this tone

is not essentially Asiatic, but is discoverable north, south, east and west, wherever we find man in power—which is virtually everywhere in the historic period upon which we are now to enter. According to the laws of Manu (still of the highest authority in East Indian law courts), “The cause of dishonor is woman; the cause of worldly things is woman; therefore woman should be shunned.” In India as elsewhere, however, it was impossible to ignore the existence of woman, or the fact of man’s probable entanglement with her, in spite of timely warnings. The situation therefore is not left without some provision: “Woman during her infancy depends upon her father; during her youth, her husband; when her husband is dead, upon her sons; if she has no son, on the nearest male relative of her husband, for a woman ought never to govern herself according to her will.” This code, so admirably explicit, is one which prevails practically throughout the patriarchate, consigning woman at all times to a dependent position in masculine life, and conceiving her in every respect as an inferior person; or more accurately, not as a person at all, but as supplementary to the existence of man.

The following rules in definition of the “four virtues” laid down for the Chinese wife are a restatement of the Indian code, with a further elucidation of the place assigned to woman in patriarchal civilization by masculine-kind: “At home obey your father; when married, obey your husband; when a widow, obey your son.” This simple rule is supplemented in the Chinese classics by the *Chun Ka Po*, or “Transmitted Family Pearls,” a series of remarkably illuminating passages which, for all their Oriental flavor, are in reality so universal an expression of man’s conception of woman that all but the last might easily have been written by Aristotle, Rousseau or Milton, instead of the Chinese sage—indeed a bizarre collection

of names, but one involving no exaggeration, as confirmed by the verbatim opinions of each quoted in later pages.

"No one desires that you should be intelligent or your abilities of a high order" (runs the Chinese version of Rousseau's *Emile*): "They only wish that your disposition be mild and obedient, and that in looking after household matters, you be diligent and economical. They further desire that you do not disobey and contradict your father-in-law, and that you do not insult or upbraid your husband."

Again, "You ought to know that the husband is the wife's Heaven! And that to be mild and flexible is the most important duty of womankind. In every circumstance . . . you must meekly submit to your husband's commands." Of the training of girls (in which the Chinese have out-distanced all others in engraving a dire conception upon youthful life): "Their feet are to be bound; they must stay at home and must not be allowed to run here and there and play."

Yet is it right to infer that this Chinese program is more than a conservative one, designed for the protection of woman? That it really involves the attitude of contempt which prompted the unfavorable comparison between woman and cow in India? The following quotation from a discourse addressed to woman will put an end to any doubts as to the Chinese appraisal of her, serving to emphasize at the same time the Asiatic source of certain typical attitudes of the Christian church (to be considered later on): "That you have not been born a Male is owing to your amount of wickedness in a previous state of existence having been deep and weighty."

Among the classic writers of Greece the tone with respect to woman is almost exclusively one of disparagement, although we shall see there is a certain division here between the civilizations of East and West which is to

prove in the long run favorable to woman's progress. This advantage however shows itself but faintly in typical Greek life, if we except the earlier period recorded in the Homeric epics (subject to native rather than Asiatic influences) and also certain unique expressions of genius transcending time and place, as in the case of Euripides and Plato, those feminists "born out of their due time." The general attitude which discredits woman and which must be seen as characteristic of Greek civilization is admirably set forth in the account of the creation of the first woman according to Hesiod, who presents in Pandora with her jar of evils the incarnate cause of trouble among men (a legend not unrelated to the Asiatic story of Eve). "A sheer and hopeless delusion" is Pandora as thus portrayed, "to be the bane of men who work for their bread." Another misogynist or avowed hater of women is Simonides who sees in them "the greatest evil that God ever created." And there are innumerable other "ancient bards harping on woman's perfidy"—to borrow the words of the more sensitive Euripides (to whom we shall return).

In the following speech supposed to be addressed to his mother by the young Greek Telemachus there is made apparent not only the authority of the son, but his insolent advantage: "Go to thy chamber; attend to thy work; turn the spinning-wheel; weave the linen; see that the servants do their tasks. Speech belongs to men, and especially to me who am the master here." Writes Metullicus Macedonicus, "If we could get along without wives we would dispense with the nuisance." Says Socrates to one of his friends, "Is there a human being with whom you talk less than with your wife?" In addition to this type of comment Isochomachus, the young Greek husband of a classic dialogue describing the induction of his wife into household duties, supplies an item

concerning her in which he takes eminent satisfaction and which throws light on the Greek handling of girlhood. "She had spent the preceding part of her life under the strictest surveillance," he writes of his bride, "in order that she might see as little, hear as little, and ask as few questions as possible."

But it is in the explicit statements of Aristotle that we find the clearest definition of woman's moral and social disabilities. "The male is by nature superior, and the female inferior; and the one rules and the other is ruled." "The male is by nature fitter for command than the female." "The courage of a man is shown in commanding, of woman in obeying." The inequality between the sexes which he repeatedly points out he regards as "permanent." Again: "We must look upon the female character as being a sort of natural deficiency." And in the excerpt which follows we have a statement admirably correlated with the Chinese conception: "It is through a certain incapacity that the female is female."

Although the early dignity of the Roman matron and the later legal advantages and social freedom of Roman woman would seem to differentiate Rome and Greece, an underlying misogyny unites the literature of the two peoples, a literature in which Rome derives much from Greece and the two much from Asia. Probably the sort of thing with which we are to concern ourselves reaches its fullest expression in Juvenal, but it would be possible to give from Roman literature as from Greek innumerable examples. Cato the Roman censor writes: "The husband is judge of his wife. If she has committed a fault, he punishes her; if she has drunk wine, he condemns her; if she has been guilty of adultery, he kills her." But rather than to multiply quotations of this kind, especially in view of the fact that we are about to undertake specific studies of conditions in Greece and Rome, it is to the point to

proceed with a more general outline of the patriarchal family as an historic form.

Concerning the extent and character of this father-governed family we are subjected to no uncertainty, are hampered by no lack of data. So universal indeed has been this family organization, with the invariable perquisites and powers of its male head, the father (such powers as the Messiah declared should be conceded to no man on earth), that it has stood until recent years as the family *per se*, uniting Occident and Orient in a fundamental concept, for all their wide divergence. This concept constituting a bond of union between vast cultures so unlike involves an acceptance of the dominance and superiority of man as his birthright, a concept in which the inferiority of woman is not only implicit, but commonly explicit. It is a scheme as old as history, and older; and it covers the known world, including every continent. In the record of the antique peoples who were to become in a sense the progenitors of Europe it prevailed in full force until the advent of Christ, and thereafter through a history of change and modification up to a period which it is impossible to set off by dates, defined by the word "modern." In the Orient, on the other hand, in fact in all areas dominated by Brahman, Buddhist, Confucian or Mohammedan religion, the patriarchal family has persisted, fixed and immovable, with no hint of change except that touch communicated to it through the invasion of Christian peoples, or at point of contact with them. And it is probably in this same way, rather than through the operation of an internal principle, that the typical Hebrew family has somewhat modified its rigors, without abandoning its form.

So much for the extent of a system which is from now on to lose its relativity, and to stand forth as a mode of living identical with life itself. This rise of man, coinci-

dent in the largest sense (as we have seen) with the rise of history, is to disclose from this time forth a feature intimately related to the strengthening of man's new position: his worship of his hero-ancestors. This worship, made possible by the reliable establishment of the male line of descent, is further supported by the ever-dramatic character of man's exploits, so that there is now provided a condition which fosters the life of heroes, whose thrilling deeds now pass into the immortality of the family narrative. There is now ushered in the period of stories of men, by men and for men, as contrasted with the older mythologies in which women more largely figured. At last enabled to trace his own descent through a father and carrying on the same thread of interest through the identification of his sons, man begins to exhibit that enormous pride in his forbears which makes of the family a continuing organism in a sentimental sense. Each family line is to gather henceforth a kind of historic capital; it is to be built up by the works of many, by deeds conserved, by ancestors remembered. All this is at once a stimulus with respect to good deeds and a deterrent with respect to bad ones. A family name exists. How dire from now on is the offense of barrenness in woman! No family must die, for it is the custodian from now on of an epic treasure. Thus history is begun—that brilliant but imperfect record of masculine exploits passing for the whole story.

But this arresting interest in ancestors, vaguely continuous with the totemic system, is not to satisfy itself on a plane merely human. These hero-ancestors are to become to a family its gods; the patriarch is a priest, the hearth becomes an altar. A ritual develops. One of the leading functions of a father from now on is to induct into the priestly office thus established his first-born son. It is primarily because of the necessity of carrying on this

worship that the birth of boys is essential. Reference has already been made to the tragedy of barrenness. But the unhappy woman who is able to present her lord with girl babies only is also disgraced. In the former instance a man may regularly divorce his wife—as illustrated in the instance of Napoleon and Josephine, so close to modern times. In the latter case, the absence of male offspring, there appear the most elaborate devices to secure the needed heir. For the family must be saved, even if woman fails. In short, the defaulting of woman with respect to the production of male inheritors must be somehow met.

We shall discover in an examination of modes of procedure at this point that the attitude toward family ties is what we should call today cold-blooded. That is, the family appears to be an organization not so much human as official, and one in which a vacancy may be filled in the most mechanical manner. The simplest and most obvious procedure to begin with, a man being afflicted by his wife's failure to bear a son, is for her to pass over to him a concubine to be the mother of a legitimate heir. The son born of such a union is accepted in this event as the true child of the real wife, to serve as heir and priest with no defect of status. Another custom, long prevalent among the Hebrews and a vestige of group marriage, is that of the levirate, according to which the brother of a man dying childless was required to marry his deceased brother's widow, that he might thus "raise up seed unto his brother" that "his name be not put out of Israel." The first-born son of such a union, as with the concubine, was regarded as the son of the original marriage, with full rights and status. This custom, like other patriarchal customs, was in due time modified to admit of the act of consent or refusal on the part of the persons involved—although the "person" in this case was really the brother alone, the

widow thus implicated being allowed only an expression of contempt in the event of her rejection.

Another method of securing male descendants where natural means have failed is by adoption. There is a post of sonship, an office to be filled; and while it is to be hoped that the desired priest and heir will be produced in the normal way through legitimate marriage, this is not essential. In the absence of a true son, or of a "near-son" of the types just observed, a stranger may be taken in, although the adoption of a blood-relation is preferable to that of an outsider if this can be managed. We are told, for instance, that in the long list of Roman adoptions the large majority were "cognatic kinsmen," or relatives through women. This is suggestive of a Hindu custom which provides in a similar way for the missing male descendant. According to this ancient law a father with no prospect of legitimate sons is allowed to "appoint" or designate a daughter who is to bear for him by her husband a child to fill the breach. This child is to be regarded formally as the father's (that is to say, the grandfather's) offspring, and his legitimate heir. And this appointment is so mandatory as to override the will of the husband involved, if he should stand opposed. The "appointed" daughter is of course, in this case, no actual person in the true line of succession, but a medium of reproduction, one through whom it is possible to achieve a male heir of the proper blood. This custom is not entirely confined to Hindu usage but appears in various places, among them even Athens.

It is characteristic of such paternal laws as these that they establish the male line at what would seem in our eyes today a high human cost. Is not this, however, a first example and display on institutional lines of the temper of male genius, the organizing faculty; a conception of mechanics at the expense of persons? Man has

conceived a system: life is his raw material. That which he takes into his molding hands is expected to make no more response than clay or wood or steel. He abuses and exalts; he develops social classes. We have henceforth slave, concubine and dependent wife; cattle and property; the owner and director. There is little left of the massy communism and easy fellowship of the day of mothers. The family now appears in its more modern sense in that it presents man, wife and offspring held together in firm organization; but the sentiments which we almost unconsciously read into the links uniting one with another in this family group are not to be discovered.

Yet it is difficult to conceive of progress as we know it, of material dominion, without this type of mastery; this strong-handed rule; a new day of comparative efficiency, law and order. Here, among other things, is an immense and practicable scheme of labor. It is possible from now on to feed a rapidly growing host. And it is at this very point, again, that man runs true to type. While the restriction of population by means of infanticide is not new, it has grown newly important. The patriarch cannot see his way to the unlimited support of girls, nor of the weak or handicapped. The father must decide therefore immediately upon the birth of a child whether it is to live or die. The mother is expected to submit her new-born baby to death or "exposure" without protest, if the father so decrees it. One is not prepared to believe that woman was ever able to habituate herself to this procedure; to deliver herself from the sensibilities of maternity, a sense of riven life. It is reassuring to discover that in the case of Egypt, with its maternal tendency, such measures were not in order—the Egypt of historic customs which in the eyes of classic travellers (as we may remember) were "upside down." The following Egyptian law is reported by a Roman: "Parents that killed their children were not to

die, but were forced for three days and nights together to hug them continually in their arms, and had a guard all the while over them, to see they did it; for they thought it not fit that they should die, who gave life to their children; but rather that men should be deterred from such attempts by a punishment that seemed attended with sorrow and repentance."

It must be remembered with respect to the typical patriarch, however, that the right to kill a child was but an integral part of his practically absolute power over an entire group. His authority extending over wives, concubines, slaves and children was that of a full monarch. He had the right not only to dispose of his children at birth, but later to banish them from the family, to sell them into slavery, to arrange their marriages without consulting them, and to inflict upon them at his discretion the death penalty. He was in a position to divorce his wife with a gesture—before the time of Moses, by such a verbal statement as: "Be thou divorced!" And in all these powers and functions he was accountable to no one, being himself the highest priest.

The patriarchal family is at the outset polygamous, and although it finally legalizes and distinguishes the relation of one wife, there remain the slaves and concubines practically owned by the family head and at his disposal, not to mention the singing and dancing girls who under one name or another prostitute themselves throughout the patriarchate for man's amusement and satisfaction. While it is true, as we shall see, that modifications of this system present themselves among different peoples—that among the Greeks, Hebrews and especially Romans there is a gradual qualification of this paternal power in its original harshness, it is yet the case that the patriarchal family as we have here portrayed it is typical in its contours. It cannot be denied that it afforded the wife

protection—of a sort. No man was entitled to the wife of another any more than he was entitled to his man servant, his maid servant, his ox or his ass. But this was an “honor” developed between man and man, a rule of property, the code of man as owner. Woman in this transaction was a thing and not a person—except as she was guarded as the source of legitimate heirs; of a line which must be kept pure at any cost. Such was her chastity, and such was her protection. In terms of spiritual dignity she had practically ceased at this point to have existence.

These conditions however are to be treated in more detail among particular peoples, especially those peoples significantly related to western civilization—the Greeks, Romans and Hebrews.

CHAPTER VII

THE FAMILY IN GREECE

THE life of Greece is of exceptional interest not only because of its own distinction, but because of its peculiarly sensitive and finally militant relation to Oriental culture. At no point is this particular relation more significant than in its bearings on family life and the affairs of woman, which reflect at first a somewhat primitive Hellenic background, later to succumb to the patriarchal influence of Asiatic institutions. There lurks, however, in the manners and customs of the Greeks a revivifying something destined to bring about the permanent parting of the ways between East and West, and to clear the path for a differentiated European civilization. This variant is drawn from diverse elements each one of which has its touch of meaning in relation to the subject at hand. First among these—the earliest discoverable Hellenic factor—is an element of the declining Cretan civilization which had found a foothold in the rugged peninsula of Greece even before the influx from the north of barbarian tribes. The vestiges of this advanced civilization suggest the ancient cultures of Babylon and Egypt, with which its contact can be traced, and interestingly enough the Cretan or Minoan culture in common with these others bears marked evidences of matriarchy, such as a distinct matrilineal system with respect to right of succession and family names.

Into juxtaposition with this ancient culture, in its colonial fragments, are thrown the invading tribes from central and southeastern Europe, the two elements, Cretan

and barbarian, thus combining to form the native Hellenic stock, and to confer upon it the somewhat superior ideals of woman peculiar to them both. For we shall find that the invading barbarians almost invariably import a decent feminine ideal, traceable to their social stage, and the Minoan culture, as we have already seen, relates itself to the somewhat mysterious matriarchy of ancient date with which we have already come in touch. Largely through the traffic of the sea and the contacts of war this native Greek community is brought into sharp juxtaposition with the seasoned Oriental—a contact of which the result is at once assimilation and separation. But the separation does not occur until the Greeks have been subjected to the strong and continuous influence of Asiatic sophistication. And Marathon and Thermopylæ, with their cry of “ils ne passeront pas,” have not repelled the Asiatics with respect to the encroachment of their ideals upon family life, although even here we can see that some sort of an independent gesture has prepared the way for the more liberal European trend.

The immediate influence of Asia upon the Hellenic family is, however, strong and highly patriarchal, with the result that the status of woman in Greece is fixed at a low Oriental level. There flows an influence from the harems none too far away, together with the elaborate sensuous pleasures which the Asiatic is able to pursue to such inconceivable lengths without satiety or recoil. The Greek is modified and to a certain degree demoralized by these practices and standards; indeed they are to appear in due season as a marked element in his undoing. Meanwhile they are imposed for a time upon the splendidly healthy stock basing Greek civilization, and they slip imperceptibly into the beautiful Greek molds which give an harmonious outward grace to everything Hellenic.

Bearing these backgrounds in mind we shall not be

surprised to discover that it is in the earlier Greece rather than the Greece more fully modified by later Eastern contacts that woman is to be found relatively free and honored. In connection with this fact it is interesting to note that something of the gentilism with which we have already become familiar is still alive, the earliest Greek society being organized on the basis of the kinship clan, phratry and tribe, although paternal law and the inheritance of property by the father's children are in force, weakening the greater family by increasing the wealth of the small and immediate one, which is thus able to acquire independent power. At the time of the Homeric narratives none the less woman is certainly a salient and beyond this something of an heroic figure; she is unquestionably such in the earlier portions of the Homeric epic. And even in the *Odyssey* of somewhat later date we read of a type of woman of the same noble outline—of one who, for example, “hath and hath ever had all worship heartily from her dear children and from her lord Alkinous and from all folk who look upon her as a goddess and greet her with reverent speech when she goes about town. Yea, for she too hath no lack of understanding.” Throughout the Homeric stories there are repeated instances of a finely dignified love between man and wife, and women are continually portrayed as of a larger and nobler species than those of the later classic period. They draw a fuller breath, and they evoke from the heroes of their world a superior respect and love. They are marked, in short, by an ancient and at the same time a barbarian freedom which has not entirely succumbed as yet to historic standards.

In connection with these points it is interesting to discover that in Homeric times the suitor wooed the bride with rich gifts, this custom being entirely reversed after the time of Solon, when the father of the bride was obliged

to provide a dowry to facilitate her marriage. It is also frequently to be observed in studies of the period that the earlier Homeric women are somewhat freer with respect to institutional morality than the women who succeed them, the latter being more regularly conformed to a social code. All of these points clearly suggest a society still to a degree maternal, in tone if not in positive custom—even though so distinguished a nineteenth century historian as Lecky regards it as “one of the most remarkable, and to some writers the most perplexing facts in the moral history of Greece, that in the former ruder period women undoubtedly had the highest places, and their type exhibited the highest perfection.”

But it is with Greece in her prime, the Greece that has worked out her purposes, that we are essentially concerned, and in this Greece we find a typically, indeed a triumphantly masculine civilization, one of firm patriarchal outlines; a model for all later western societies of man-centered pattern. This civilization, highly influenced by Asiatic life and traditions especially through its Ionic branch, is essentially aristocratic (certain of its political institutions to the contrary notwithstanding), resting as it does on the exemption from hard and unpleasant labor of its privileged male citizens. This minority of persons is destined to mount to the rarest distinction on the shoulders of slaves and women, a situation which suggests that the discrimination between men and women is social and industrial, as well as a distinction of sex per se. This type of discrimination results in a privileged class or caste which women are doomed never to enter at any point, even through the agency of marriage, as borne out by the fact that the Greek wife is not permitted to dine with her husband when he has guests, and that she is inducted into no phases of the culture of the day through education. In brief, society during the Golden Age is literally a man's

club, not to be entered by women of approved position any more than by slaves.

As to the actual structure of the patriarchal family, it may be said to conform to the general pattern we have undertaken to define. It was composed of the patriarch—the family priest and ruling father—with his dependent group of legal wife, children, concubines and slaves. This family among the Greeks as distinguished from the Asiatics was based from the earliest recorded period on the monogamous union of one man and woman (as legally interpreted), a form attributable to the dominance of Western influence. There continued nevertheless a practical polygamy, through concubinage in its many phases; and we note the Asiatic veil partially concealing the face of the Greek wife as she appears in public, attended by a servant. “Mistresses we keep for pleasure, concubines for daily attendance on our person, wives to bear us legitimate children” is a frank classification of women proposed in one of the orations attributed to Demosthenes. This makes clear the fact that the monogamy of the period was legal and official only, existing largely for convenience, and imposing slight actual restriction upon masculine life. As to divorce, it was as ever an instrument in the hands of the “party in power.” Woman could be divorced by her husband for barrenness or adultery—she might even be killed for the latter—but her own right to secure a divorce was so nominal, so unsustained by public sentiment, as to be practically no right at all.

Among the women of the upper classes, women who were suitable mates for these distinguished “citizens,” there was practically no alternative to marriage, and no choice of partners in connection with it. Marriage was frequently arranged by parents during the childhood of the mates involved. Equality of birth and fortune were the chief considerations. It was an affair largely domin-

ated by property and therefore by class interests, although we find an occasional father boasting of his wisdom in choosing his children's partners on the basis of character rather than wealth. "Romantic love" as it was to be later termed, the commonly accepted motive of American or modern marriage, was entirely ignored. Indeed certain writers following the classic tradition have even gone so far as to brand the sentiment of love as positively undesirable in marriage; appropriate not to a wife, but to a mistress only—a conception of Asiatic origin and one still prevalent in the Orient where it has given birth to a number of precepts cautioning a man against the love of his wife.

But it is impossible to treat all Greece as if it were conformed to one code. On the whole the Asiatic influence is supposed to have been most largely assimilated by the colonies of Asia Minor, and thence transmitted as a desirable sophistication to the cruder societies of Greece itself. Here Athens and Sparta were destined to develop along somewhat different lines. In Athens we find the patriarchal restrictions upon woman operative in full force, so that her exclusion is almost Oriental. During the classical period she rarely left the house without her husband's permission, and then veiled and attended. She spent her time largely in the women's quarters, sharing the society of her husband only at meals when he was unaccompanied by guests. These she was not expected to meet. From public banquets and gatherings she was entirely excluded. She had no legal status, she was always under tutelage, and she was not her children's guardian. Logically under these conditions she was not the heir of property, which always passed to the eldest son. (In the absence of such a son we may note certain of the circuitous processes already outlined in connection with the patriarchate.) The perfect standard for woman, the expressed ideal of the

hour, was not to be talked about for good or evil among men. This was also the glory of woman according to so notable a person as Pericles—even though he himself (contradictorily enough) was the appreciator and companion of an exceptional woman. Governed by such precepts as these the “female sex” was “accustomed to live cowed and in obscurity,” to borrow the phrasing of the time. One who would violate this social order must live beyond the pale.

Sparta contrasts itself sharply with Athens in many respects, and especially in the larger freedom accorded women, although this cannot be wholly attributed to a more exalted or more intelligent social ideal. For in the case of Sparta this liberty of movement was partly a eugenic device for securing sons of better physical stature (touching upon the cherished theory of Plato in which he would have children bred primarily in behalf of the state); and it was partly a freedom resulting from the protracted absence of men from their homes, owing to their continued residence in military quarters. In any case the practice as seen in connection with the monogamous marriages of Sparta was a good one, involving for Spartan women an incidental release from the house-bound existence of Athenian ladies. The spiritual and physical results were alike desirable, according to the most convincing reports. Young women as well as young men were allowed the freedom of athletic games, and the Spartan matron appeared on the street unattended. She was allowed to inherit property and was said at one time to own two-fifths of that of Sparta. Certainly in the more virile, more apparently masculine life woman had higher status than elsewhere in Greece. It was the pride of Sparta, according to some historians—in the face of the traditional instance of Helen—that it was superior to Athens with respect to fidelity in marriage and a tone of purity in the

sex-relation, an argument in favor of sex-freedom as contrasted with sex segregation and sex emphasis, for the Athenians above all other citizens attempted to achieve the moral purity of their women by the closest vigilance and restriction. According to other interpreters, however, Sparta could not be cited as an instance of moral orthodoxy, but was characterized rather by the greater freedom discoverable in the earlier societies of matriarchal tone.

Comparative liberty, however, did exist among Spartan women, and it has been explained by Plutarch in a most interesting manner. He tells us that Lycurgus, the law-giver of Sparta, at the time of entering his duties, visited the isle of Crete, and that he admired and took over many of the laws that he found in operation there. The significance of this story for us lies in the fact that the Cretans, closely related to Doric stock, were a people among whom descent and right of succession were still traced to a certain degree down the female line. Spartan custom was thus brought into direct contact at this point with the more primitive maternal custom, and probably with its own ancient background, the Cretan culture of early Greece. While the entire tone of Sparta with respect to women cannot be traced to this suggestive episode, it is reasonable to suppose that Lycurgus viewed for the first time and admired a certain group of customs of matriarchal tinge. This is further confirmed by an effort on the part of Lycurgus to level the distinctions between rich and poor, to the end of approaching some such community of goods as characterized the early clan, in its mother-centered form. It is to the point in this connection to recall what Herodotus noted of the Lycians—their reckoning of descent through mothers—and to observe the propinquity of the Isle of Crete to the Lycian coast. Indeed we are definitely supplied by Herodotus with the information that the Lycians came to Asia Minor from

Crete. These instances combine to strengthen that which reappears as a stimulating suggestion with respect to a mother-centered order, and its influence on later customs.

Returning to Athens, the largest of the Greek city-states, we may note its peculiarly insistent effort to keep its citizenship pure with respect to outside blood, that is, the marked restriction of marriage by endogamous codes or laws against out-marrying. Athenians were compelled to marry Athenians, when the city-state was in its prime, and no stranger was allowed to enter into the proud rights of Athenian citizenship. Beyond this every possible precaution was taken to prevent adultery and thus to keep the lineage of children clear. The wife was systematically guarded, in spite of the fact that the freer code of Sparta was apparently productive of more desirable results. Notwithstanding the marked interest of society as a whole in the matter, however, marriage continued to be a private affair, a contract between families, requiring no sanction from the state provided it was undertaken within the lines laid down. With respect to religion, it involved the separation of the bride from the religious ritual of her father's hearth and her mechanical induction into the worship of a new set of ancestors, those of her husband's family. This change was accomplished by her father's solemn utterance of a sacramental formula at the parental hearth, by which words she was formally released to her young husband and his family gods.

Following this ceremonial there is a marriage banquet, and from this point on the genius of the Greek people redeems for the moment, by force of beauty, what is for woman a bad bargain. It is evening; the mother has now handed over her daughter to the groom, and the procession to the groom's home begins. We can imagine the young and bewildered bride in the lovely grace of her white Greek draperies, veiled and crowned, the warm light of the

nuptial torches falling on her slight figure. Flute-players go before the bridal chariot and there is a chanting of nuptial hymns to Hymenæus, the god of marriage. The husband's home is draped with garlands. Arrived at the door, there is a mock struggle between bride and groom (perhaps a vestige of freer times). Seized by violence, as in the days of capture, the young bride is dragged or carried over the threshold in her husband's arms. This is symbolic of the fact that she is henceforth his. Husband and wife now eat the cake of sesame, suggestive of fertility, with a prayer to the new gods. The wife is now established at the family hearth. At the door of the bridal chamber a chorus of white maidens sing the epithalamium or Greek bridal hymn, with which the pageant closes.

The duties of the Greek wife, which were exclusively domestic, are admirably described in the works of Xenophon the Greek historian, who imagines the well-known dialogue between the young husband Ischomachus (already quoted) and Socrates the philosopher. Ischomachus explains most carefully and in detail how he has introduced his young wife to her series of new tasks, this wife being a figure quite perfectly designed by the Greek man for his household. She is willing, courteous, responsive. Her one desire, apparently, is to please her lord and to meet the requirements set before her. It is explained to her at the outset that her sphere is indoors; the outdoors is for man. And while this typical Attic bride is being denied the scope of her Spartan sister she is comfortably assured that "excellent exercise can be had making beds and kneading dough." Her regular duties in addition to the rearing of children are those assigned indeed to domestic woman throughout the world, so that her program would not be remarkable were it not for the slave-like restriction which surrounds her like a wall. The description in question is that of an aristocratic régime implying the presence of

domestic slaves. The wife is therefore responsible not only for spinning, weaving and garment-making, but for the training of slaves along these lines, and their supervision. She must watch over the cooking, and great stress is laid on her strict account of supplies. There are also directions given with respect to proper storing and packing away. In addition to these duties it is the wife's task to look after sick slaves. And all of these obligations are entered into practically without terms. The wife has no property rights, not even her dowry, except in the event of divorce, since she has passed directly from the guardianship of her father to that of her husband.

It was inevitable that so severe a system of isolation and restriction should have bred a race of women of little personal interest to men of exceptional mental powers—powers which were given peculiarly free play owing to the system of slave labor on which their culture rested. On the one hand we find the citizen exempt from deadening drudgery and developing the highest degree of ease and skill in professional fields. On the other we observe the innumerable company of slaves and women making such leisure possible, and living in mental penury. The Athenian wife, as we have already indicated, was commonly illiterate; and she was trained for a domestic life without social aspects. It is not surprising that such a situation should have bred a freer class, and that this class should have existed in defiance of the social standard and ideal set for women. There was no middle ground. We find therefore a group known as "*Hetairae*," ranging from the easily recognizable historic courtesan, whose art is pleasing men, to the superior type of woman who exists in her own right (so far as this is feasible), rises to self-expression and impresses her own time.

The women forming the group in question, closely in touch with the notable men of their day and participating

in its culture, were largely though not entirely of foreign birth. In Athens particularly this further inclined them to their socially outlawed position, since under its endogamous law they could not become wives of citizens. Among the most brilliant of these foreign women was Aspasia who came to Athens from Miletus, an Ionian city, and who lived in considerable honor as the companion of Pericles until his death, entertaining at her house such philosophers as Socrates and Anaxagoras, the sculptor Phidias, and probably the dramatists of the time, including Euripides. Such clear minds as Plato testify to the high influence of Aspasia upon her time, and it is interesting to find that she achieved for herself a social status, so that secluded wives were often brought to her assemblies that they might hear her teaching. It is sometimes claimed that Aspasia finally became the legal wife of Pericles, but whether or not this was the case, we must conceive in her a woman who found in the scheme of her age no position which made room for her, or others of her kind, and who had to cast her lot either with the slave or the free companion—belonging in reality neither to the one nor the other class. It was inevitable, however, that the freedom of the Hetaira, her privilege of attending banquets and intellectually consorting with men, should open up a world of wider opportunity than that to which the wife was consigned, although in the case of the Hetaira we have but another form of the undignified parasitism of her sex, and one which carried with it a social ignominy, with rare exceptions.

But there is some evidence that the dissenting woman of classic civilization was more than an occasional instance. Beyond the individual genius of Aspasia, of Sappho with her incomparable lyric gift and her famed lectures on the isle of Lesbos, we suspect a more general stir in the direction of self-expression among womankind. Does not

Aristophanes, that great master of ridicule, advance the subject of woman in politics as a popular theme—investing it at the same time with no small sympathy for woman's case? And how shall we account for Plato's truer ideal of the relation of man and woman, his unique sense of real friendship, if there was nothing in the air beyond the dull orthodoxy of wifehood, the masculine conception?

But it is to Euripides above all that we must turn for inspired insight, for a genuinely illumined portrayal of woman's mind and life. Although Euripides in all probability knew Aspasia, he is marvellously sensitive not only to the exceptional type but to the case of all women, among whom his fine ear detects an almost inaudible protest against the existing order. His treatment covers a variety of types; he is tender, ironic, strong, as the case demands; in the midst of which versatility he is even charged with being the opponent of womankind; but he is always unerringly perceptive. So great is his present vogue that the following passage portraying the feelings of the Greek patriarchal wife is probably as familiar—and possibly more familiar—to the great public of today than to that of the dramatist's own hour. It is a passage which disposes of the idea that Greek marriage customs were in their time natural and sympathetic to Greek women; but it goes beyond this. It presents the quivering temperament of universal woman awaiting those laws and modes which shall take cognizance of her spiritual sense of the sex-relation:

“Of all things upon earth that breathe and grow
An herb most bruised is woman. We must pay
Our store of gold, hoarded for that one day
To buy us some man's love, and lo! they bring
A master of our flesh. There comes the sting

Of the whole shame, and then the jeopardy
For good or ill, what shall that master be?
Reject she cannot, and if she but stays
His suit, 'tis shame on all that woman's days.
So thrown amid new laws, new places, why
'Tis magic she must have to prophecy.
Home never taught her that—how best to guide
Towards peace this thing that sleepeth at her side,
And she who, laboring long, shall find some way
Whereby her lord may bear with her, nor fray
His yoke too fiercely, blessèd is the breath
That woman draws! Else let her pray for death.
Her lord, if he be wearied of her face
Within doors gets him forth; some merrier place
Will ease his heart; but she waits on, her whole
Vision enchained on a single soul."

But this passage is not destined to close with this exquisitely sombre note, this picture of woman in submergence. We have at the end as flashed upon the spirit of the prophet-dramatist a glimpse of the pent-up militant, that one whose subjection is but for a time:

"And then, forsooth, 'tis they that face the call
Of war, while we sit sheltered, hid from all
Peril. False mocking. Sooner would I stand
Three times to face their battles, shield in hand,
Than bear one child."

In another place cries this great poet of almost occult vision:

"The scandal will turn and honor will come to a woman's life."

Following the brief prime of this age, golden for men at least (provided they are not slaves), there ensues a

sharp demoralization, a breaking up of forms. The classic superstructure crumbles into decadence. The patrician stock is weakened and cheapened by vices not to be resisted, apparently, by the materialistic eugenic schemes so popular among philosophers. The almost impassable cultural gulf between men and women has fostered a sex-perversion, has inclined men to unnatural companionships and admirations among themselves—companionships not always lacking in the ideal factor, or always to be disparaged, but disclosing none the less the arch-failure of classic civilization to provide adequately for men and women as lovers and mates. Here is the spectacle of a people so pledged to physical well-being that it recommends the killing of weak and crippled babies, falling at last into the very racial decrepitude it despises above all else. There remains however an impressive heritage to be caught up by Rome, to impell a Renaissance, and to contest its value and importance with the elusive but astonishingly resistant values of a new religion. Meanwhile we are to witness the rise (and in due time the fall) of another essentially man-dominated civilization, the Roman patriarchy.

“Wonders are many, and none is more wonderful than man,” writes Sophocles, breaking into a noble rhapsody which strikingly suggests the tribute of Job to God. “The power that crosses the white sea, driven by the stormy south-wind, making a path under the surges that threaten to engulf him,” “turning the soil with the offspring of horses as the ploughs go to and fro from year to year,” snaring and leading captive “the light-hearted race of birds, and the tribes of savage beasts, and the sea-brood of the deep”—in such terms as these the dramatist describes the triumphant one who has overcome all nature and subdued all creatures, taming and yoking “the horse of shaggy mane,” and “the tireless mountain bull.”

“And speech and swift-winged thought and all the moods that mould a state, hath he taught himself; and how to flee the arrows of the frost, when 'tis hard lodging under the clear sky, and the arrows of the rushing rain; yea, he hath resource for all; without resource he meets nothing that must come; only against Death shall he call for aid in vain—”

Thus is portrayed by the Greek poet man's finite kingdom, destined to expand itself into the limitless marvels of modern civilization, the wizardries of material science. This far-flung enterprise must be seen as pertaining to the total well-being of the human race, to woman as well as man; yet it is masculine in kind. It is a trail of progress along which the traits of typical man are advanced to the utmost importance, with woman's in abeyance. But even the Rome which immediately follows Greece as a masculine adventure is to witness the beginnings of a new order in which not only men but women are permitted to draw breath.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ROMAN FAMILY

ONE of the ablest modern interpreters of Roman society contrasts it with "Graeco-Asiatic" civilization in a way which indicates by its very terminology the relative independence of the Roman people with respect to Oriental influence. Certainly the manners and customs of early Rome were sturdily native, appropriate to an agricultural people developing naturally from a local gentile organization. This organization—of paternal character according to the earliest available records—presents the gens, phratry and tribe of the Greeks and other peoples of a similar stage of culture, with the father in command at all points. But as commonly happens among people who are still coping with practical problems, whose modes are natural rather than artificial, the status of woman is higher than at a later stage. On the whole the early Romans suggest the American colonists in their simplicity, hardihood and program of work—a Roman-American analogy which may be pursued as the elder race drives on into an imperial period of power and extravagance. From first to last, however, the culture of America is modified by influences unknown to the antique world, notable among these, the influence of woman. This influence is significantly absent from every phase of Roman culture, in spite of the dignity of the early matron, and for all the free participation of Roman woman in the society of a later date. We shall see that the rôles here involved are entered into by the women of Roman civilization on masculine terms, and that the Roman family is

firmly patriarchal until its decline—in spite of certain modifications in the direction of legal justice.

The life of the Romans is cast by their history into two fairly separate periods, the first of which may be conceived as extending to the great wars of conquest. During this period we note a robust natural development springing from native stock and based on the cultivation of the soil. Just here we have an admirable example of the patriarchal family, uncorrupted by outside influence and operating under the most favorable conditions. The time is one of moral stamina, plain living and hard work; the religious basis of the family is undisturbed, and we may observe the patriarchal form interpreted in terms of the highest personal standards. Divorce is practically unknown. The Roman matron is held in honor, in spite of stern restrictions, and the vices to be ushered in by the exemption of citizens and ladies from hard work have not appeared. They are foreign as yet to this hardy race of farming men and house-keeping women. For the average Roman is at this time a farmer, proud of his task. He works his small number of acres practically without slaves and with few servants, following the plow himself. The wife indoors busies herself with the classic industries of spinning and weaving, together with other household tasks. Children are brought up with the utmost simplicity and are not bred like the Greeks to despise manual work. It was a matter of patriotic pride, in fact, that Cincinnatus was called from the plow to the dictatorship (in which may be observed a touch of the American romance of democracy—frequently utilized in political campaigns). Although the status of woman is at this time a dignified one, the family is none the less a typical organization of “agnatic” or male kinsmen, destined to realize their essentially masculine power more fully as rural life yields to the growth of cities.

The authority of the father as head of this group of kinsmen was formulated as early as 450 B.C. in the Laws of the Twelve Tables—for with the Romans nothing was left to taken-for-granted sentiment: everything was reduced to the clearly stated statute. Here paternal authority, or “*patria potestas*,” was defined as involving practically all of the patriarchal powers set forth as typical in a previous chapter. It implied an almost unrestricted dominion over children, slaves and other household members, including the power of the father to decide at birth whether or not his children should live; to arrange their marriages; to control their earnings; to scourge them, banish them from the country or put them to death. A similar authority was exercised by the father over his wife under the title of “*manus*.”

There appear however among the Romans certain checks upon the absoluteness of these prerogatives. No child, for example, could be condemned to death by a father without his first summoning a family council made up of the grown members of his group and his wife's; and while this—like the first “parliament”—was only a consulting body with much power to talk and little to act, it was yet unquestionably a deterrent on injustice, and to a degree typically Roman in this respect. It is also to be noted that at the time of the marriage of daughters there arose the necessity of some sort of adjustment of the claims of father and husband, especially from the standpoint of property, which Roman sons and daughters were alike allowed to inherit. How precisely this contingency was provided for in the several marriage forms we shall see later on, but there was commonly an advantage in the transaction which accrued indirectly to woman. Another point illustrating the Roman temper was the requiring of at least the formal consent of the parties to a marriage, even though it was actually a contract between parents.

It may be added here as a further point in the direction of individual rights that the Roman wife, unlike the Greek, officiated with her husband as priestess at the family altar, joining in the ceremonial worship of the "lares" and "penates," or guardian spirits and gods of the ancestral hearth. Finally it must be remembered that Roman marriage, however patriarchal, was never legally polygamous, differentiating itself like the Greek from its Oriental counter-part by its monogamous form.

Another point of difference between the marriage customs of Greece and Rome and those of the Orient was that the western custom did not admit of literal child-marriages, although the betrothal of children was a common practice. Girls frequently entered into matrimony about the age of fifteen, among the Romans, which was not strikingly young in view of the earlier maturity of southern women and the absence of educational programs to be completed, in their case. Boys were always older, although many married before the age of twenty. This was not approved, however, as a desirable procedure. Late marriages were highly recommended to men by social philosophers of the day in Rome, as formerly in Greece, thirty being proposed as an excellent age for the alliance. Many indeed were willing to marry late, especially in view of the fact that the ideal of masculine chastity before marriage was not pressed upon them.

Marriages were commonly arranged by go-betweens, characteristic of the patriarchal institution everywhere, throughout Asia as well as Europe, and we find in Rome a class of professionals in this kind of negotiation even maintaining bureaus. The basis of the marriage contract in Rome was economic and social (the latter in the sense of caste), so that there was little or no room left for selective love—a type of marriage which has persisted into modern times, with slight modifications, not only in the

East, but in Continental life and even in England. The psychic approach to marriage provided for in courtship was not customary even among those betrothed. It must be admitted that the emphatic consideration in this matter among the materialistic Romans was either money or political advantage; and throughout the history of Roman marriage and divorce we see a more or less brutal sacrifice of natural affection and fine feeling to "practical" considerations, especially in the heyday of Roman power. The Roman matron repeatedly rises to these demands with a nobility bred of her devotion to the state, and a sense of the legitimacy of the sacrifice of her personal feeling to what seem to be its interests.

For reasons not at all identical with modern ideals, marriage was an important affair, and this importance was expressed among the upper classes in solemnity and pomp—and expense—of ceremony. Among the lower classes where there were slighter property interests at stake the procedure was more informal—indeed so lacking in ceremony under certain conditions as to rank as common law marriage. It may be said of all the modes of marriage however that they were typically Roman in that they were definite and clean-cut in statement—conveniently named and classified by a people endowed with a marked talent for formulation. We shall see in every case, in enumerating these laws, that the emphasis of power is thrown either into the side of the father or that of the husband. This means that woman herself had few technical rights, except indirectly, living under what is known as the "perpetual tutelage" of either her husband or her father. Her right to inherit property, however, distinguishes her from the women we have hitherto considered, and this right lies at the basis of her partial emancipation. We shall see how, as the owner of property, she is to obtain considerable liberty through the

juggling of these masculine claims, frequently becoming through this maneuver a fairly powerful person and political factor.

True marriage or "*matrimonium justum*" could be performed only between persons of equal social rank, but it involved several ceremonies differing in type and prevailing on different social levels. It could be performed with or without what was known as "*manus*," a term implying here the subordination of the wife to the husband; so that "*cum manu*" indicated that the wife was to pass under the tutelage of her husband, to become in every sense a member of his family—a status accepted in the majority of marriages in the early days. Without "*manus*" the wife remained under the original tutelage of her father, for her the more strategic position, and one which she finally manipulated to yield the material advantages to which we have referred.

Of all the marriage rites inducting the wife into the power of her husband the highest and most aristocratic was that of "*confarreatio*," appropriate only to patricians and performed with an elaborateness of ceremonial resembling at certain points the pontifical high mass of a Catholic wedding. Certain offices of the priesthood and that of vestal virgin were open only to children of this type of marriage. Except for the touch of solemnity added by the presence of ministers of the state religion, the ceremony essentially resembled the Greek, with its episodes in the parental home and at the new hearth, connected by the wedding procession. One point in these rites, however, exhibits the Roman temper—at least a suggestion of equality between man and woman. "*Where thou art Caius I am Caia*," are the words with which the bride salutes her husband just as she has crossed the threshold of her new home. From the pictorial standpoint the Roman marriage contrasts interestingly with the

Greek in that the veil of the Roman bride is not white but of the color of flame.

Another more middle-class ceremony known as "*coemptio*," pertaining to the same type of marriage, involved a symbolic sale of the woman to the man, displacing the religious factor and converting the affair into more of a civil ceremony. A coin of slight value (but of high significance to the student of woman's status) was used in this case. A third form of marriage—or better, mode of marriage—by means of which a woman was brought under the power of her husband, was known as "*usus*," and implied a kind of common-law marriage which recognized the relation of man and wife where the two had lived in marital association one year, a type of marriage prevailing as a rule among plebeians. In this case the wife's consent must have been secured, and she must not have absented herself from home three days. As contrasted with all these legitimate forms of marriage there existed the legalized form of concubinage known as "*matrimonium non justum*," or the union of a citizen with a woman of inferior rank, a union the children of which were not allowed to inherit property, nor were they regarded as members of their father's family. It will be observed that the Roman citizen desiring to found a legitimate family was expected to marry within the limits of his own class, and he was also expected to marry within his own race—to refrain from marital alliance with one of foreign stock, although there were finally certain dispensations in connection with the provinces.

Divorce, as we have noted, was extremely rare during the early period, but the right to divorce his wife was none the less one of the patriarch's accepted powers. The formula of repudiation in this case serves to confirm the materialistic basis of Roman marriage. "Keep your own property for yourself" are the words with which the wife

might be dismissed by her husband at this time. In the event of adultery on the part of the wife—with its menace to purity of lineage—the husband might take her life without the intervention of the family council. It is at such a point as this that we are reminded that the patriarchate, for all its mitigating circumstances, is running true to type even in the hands of the justice-loving Romans. The following words of Cato, the Censor, for example, fall with biting indignity on the modern ear:

“If you were to catch your wife in adultery, you would kill her with impunity without a trial; but if she were to catch you, she would not dare to lay a finger upon you, and indeed she has no right.”

It is interesting to observe, in connection with this austere patriarchal tone, a more tender and idyllic note preserved for us by the poets in their pictures of rural life. Lucretius depicts a scene of charming simplicity and content, and Vergil bequeaths to us an appealing bit of genre in the “man who keeps awake late by the winter fire-light pointing his torches with a sharp knife” while “his wife, beguiling her long work with song, runs her ringing comb through the warp, or over the fire boils down the sweet must and skims with leaves the liquid of the bubbling caldron.” Some such vein as this is traceable even through the later periods of demoralization, bringing the reminder that the dominant metropolitan picture is never quite the full story of a people’s life.

As we pass from this early and, in the main, more rigorous period into the more cosmopolitan era following the Punic wars, however, we grow very much less aware of rural life, and more aware of Rome as a great and complex city. Manners and customs have entirely changed. Here are the hubbub and confusion of urban life and commerce. Passing down crowded streets with their mixed races we might almost imagine ourselves on the

East Side of New York City. A contemporary manuscript describes the stranger as jostled and shoved about in the narrow thoroughfares where peddlars are calling all kinds of wares—from matches to smoking sausages. At the noon hour especially the streets are thronged with crowds of people hurrying to their cafés. Gathering in knots about bill-boards, or watching the street show itself, are the curious and idle. Amusements are unending. Here are acrobats, dancers and jugglers, snake-charmers and tricksters—an immense vaudeville with actors drawn from many nations. We can imagine the swarthy skins, the foreign characteristics, the various gay attire. A drunken man reels past, in the midst of noisy jests. Here are the popular tamed bears—or a troupe of gladiators. Everywhere are the insistent money-changers, with their lively traffic. Here there are business, push, congestion, entertainment—the notes of modern life.

Rome has become, in fact, immensely rich; and she is revelling not only in the resources opened up by wealth but by a variety of foreign contacts. The plunder is of many kinds. It must be seen that she is not only drawing from conquered provinces slaves and money, but customs and ways of life which stimulate her senses and extend her range of pleasures. In subjecting Greece, for instance, the Roman has not only adopted the treasures of Greek thought and philosophy, but a Greek demi-monde. He is quick to appropriate all things, both desirable and of dubious value. He makes his own the practices of decaying civilizations—Egypt as well as Greece. Asia is reaching him at last through a variety of avenues, even though (as in the case of Greece) there is no real merging of the two diverse cultures. An articulate western tradition is still preserved: the Mediterranean is not only a highway but a boundary. Through all these extensions of knowledge and of revels, the Roman, rapidly becoming sophis-

ticated and blasé, is beginning to look indifferently upon his elder gods. He may even regard them with a mild amusement; or, if he is of a philosophic temper, he may argue them completely away.

It is not surprising that the family of this period should exhibit a decided change. It has assimilated, in the hands of the conquering Romans, vast wealth and innumerable slaves. There develops an aristocracy entirely exempt from work and given over to the most extravagant forms of gratification and display. The small farms of the early period have gradually been sucked up into the estates of the rich and idle. There is a rapidly increasing landless class. In other words there is going on that fatal urbanization to which may be attributed in part the fall of Rome. The relation between the sexes, originally monogamous, is steadily invaded by concubinage, increased prostitution, and what may be called frenzied divorce. (It is interesting to note that divorce at this period is frequently obtained by mutual consent.) Society is also confronted by an epidemic of celibacy and childless marriages—phases which it attempts to take in hand by law, but with slight success.

In many ways the manners of the rich and privileged suggest the habits of the American "smart set"; in other ways their households resemble a kind of petty court. For example, it was customary for the wealthy Roman to maintain two places—a city and a country residence. In connection with the latter particularly he attached to himself a vast number of slaves. These sometimes mounted to thousands. They were employed in extensive vineyards and orchards; as cultivators of the soil, poulterers and game-keepers. In addition to the usual quota of special cooks, together with necessary and unnecessary servants, there were attached to the households not only physicians and surgeons but bands of entertainers, such as

musicians, jugglers and mimics, and even philosophers and men of letters. A stimulating heritage from the Greeks, together with limitless leisure, fostered in the Romans a literary habit. Not only men but women dabbled in verse and philosophy, for Roman girls were included with the boys in a reasonable amount of schooling, followed by a social freedom which led at least to sophistication. On the whole the period was one of extreme liberality with respect to all opinions, which were readily expressed. This was due in part to the fact that it was a period without convictions (a state of affairs frequently accounting for an attitude passing among men for tolerance).

It was during this period of general license that woman made a marked advance beyond her former patriarchal limits, but into a world of fixed masculine tradition which continued practically unmodified by her presence. All that she was able to do at this time was to participate in a life wholly determined by the interests and passions of men, a world in which current literature and amusement were alike conformed to their increasingly bold carnal tastes. In the theater, amphitheater and circus fashionably dressed women attended the most licentious or brutal spectacles, picking up acquaintance with strangers and abandoning themselves to the loose customs of an age rapidly driving on to destruction. The relation between the sexes was widely conceived, not only without the overtones and reserves ushered in by "romantic love," but—to put the matter much more simply—without common decency, according to the standards of a day as free even as our own. Hypocrisy, which has been defined as the "tribute vice pays to virtue," was certainly not a fault of the hour; but the "classic frankness" which took its place portrayed a crass and materialistic preoccupation only to be found on the lowest levels of modern civilization—in its veritable underworlds. It is significant that in Rome this

preoccupation prevailed on the highest levels (with notable exceptions), and passed unchallenged there, except for an occasional outcry against the manners and morals of women—those specialists in virtue according to the design of a well-regulated man-made world.

Gradually the older marriage customs giving power to the husband were falling into disuse, leaving a loop-hole by means of which the woman of fortune, especially, was able to secure her liberty. Marriage "cum manus" was passing out, and the "patria potestas" nominally retained was easily converted into an inactive factor. Woman under conditions such as these could be to all intents and purposes independent. She was frequently very rich, as a legal heir and the recipient besides of gift, bequest and dowry. As a result of this independence women are found appearing at court in their own interests, and we have the distinguished instance of Hortensia, who made successful use of her oratorical talent in opposing the imposition of a special tax on wealthy Roman matrons. Wherever the popular temper with respect to women differed from the law the older codes gave way. Moreover the Roman people, in spite of their deterioration from the standpoint of racial stock, were still in possession of their notable talent for law-making and for organization. One of the results of this unique ability was a body of reasonably good laws for women, at least a recognition of the status of women as "people." One of the most interesting statutes in this connection was that declaring infidelity an offense in men and women alike; but this must be seen rather as a remedial measure, desperately conceived in decadent days, than as an act of justice. In common with other laws attempting to reestablish the normal family, it came too late and proved ineffectual.

Although it is impossible to assemble accurate historic data with respect to the extent and frequency of divorce,

the age is famous for it. In the first place Rome was, to the Mediterranean world, a theater; its life a public drama. Its scandals were imperial; they would have lent themselves to the headlines of the great dailies, had such existed. Such men as Caesar, Antony, Augustus, commanded the interest of the world not only in their military and political exploits but in their daily lives. We need only turn to the chronicles of Plutarch to see how personal, how intimate, were the details which it seemed to the point to record in the lives of people. That the great Romans mentioned had all repudiated their wives was a matter for public speculation. The affair of Antony and Cleopatra in gorgeous and decadent Egypt was the concern of the entire Mediterranean coast. The marital affairs of Pompey were notorious, in their peculiarly cold-blooded politics. Moreover the independent Roman wife was quite as ready to divorce her partner when it suited her own will. It was said by Seneca, the philosopher and statesman, that the women of his day (the first century A.D.) counted their years not by consuls but by their husbands. It must be remembered that marriage at this time had nothing behind it but the consent of the parties. What hard-headed Roman of this period could possibly bend his knee to the former gods—or even to ancestors, in the old fashion, in the face of so arresting a present?

What we are actually confronting is the decay or break-up of an historic form. The patriarchate as such has lost here its firm outline, together with its prestige. Separated from a system of family gods it is not itself. The worship of a line of ancestors, together with certain domestic deities, had supplied to the system force and life. Supported by religion, it had acquired solemnity; had become a fixed tradition, a social fact. In connection with all this, like every institution, it had depended to a degree on a kind of poetry and glamour—now destroyed. For all its

lack of sentiment it had been sentimental. Stripped of these influences, henceforth to be displaced by economic and political considerations and nothing else, it grew merely cumbersome. The Roman who preferred his own will to any guiding spirit, who saw no real necessity for propitiating the gods who in all probability did not exist, needed for his convenience a more pliable form than that to which he had fallen heir. It may be urged in his favor, too, that the patriarchal form made at this time no particular appeal to his sense of justice, to his feeling for the free-acting person to whom his laws had given a certain leeway (slaves still excepted). We have as a consequence, therefore, the development of a family conceived in a civil spirit; a family of persons assembled or dispersed at will, without a religious background or any other, from the standpoint of ideals. The legal fabric of domestic life is now so slight, so easily rent, that the affair is almost a farce.

The striking disintegration of Roman tradition, however, is not to be entirely explained in terms of self-will, of the demands of justice, or of decadence. It must be remembered that the Romans of this time were exposed to practically every philosophy of the known world. Even Cicero had seen in Rome "a community formed of the fusion of peoples." This was even truer of the later city whose streets were thronged with people speaking perhaps a hundred languages or dialects. The medley included Greeks, Germans, Egyptians, Jews and other Orientals—a long list of foreigners abounding in names of little meaning to the modern ear—Parthians, Cilicians, Nubians, Cappodacians, Dacians, Alani. Through all of these agencies and innumerable others, there is the "ceaseless flow of news" to Rome, as to an irresistible center; besides this, the engrossing transfer of knowledge and ideas through parchment and papyrus conserved in the libraries of the time.

It was almost inevitable that the presiding deities of the family hearth should have fallen under this assault. The Romans were possibly no more materialistic than any other nation to begin with, but no nation before them had ever been confronted by so many facts, so much to be set mentally in order. It is not surprising that they became critical, skeptical, sarcastic. They compared one thing with another, they drew conclusions. As to the patriarchal family, no thinking, reading woman could be expected seriously to transfer her reverence from her father's to her husband's gods. Examined with any degree of intelligence, the procedure lacked precisely the dignity on which its life depended. It was flippant and absurd. It was riddled finally by sheer sophistication, together with a practical recasting of the laws affecting woman's status. The impressive figure of the paterfamilias, with his priestly dignity, becomes old school. Indeed the father's special claim to power is steadily disappearing.

On the whole the Roman people have attained to a point of disillusionment: a point at which knowledge and power, having mounted to the zenith, hold for them no more excitements. The Romans have achieved their goals: there is nothing left to do unless they are to waste themselves in interminable repetitions of experiences now grown stale. The old faiths are discredited and there is nothing new. At least there is nothing new to these, the epoch-makers, in their material round.—And yet there has entered into their very midst (could they but see it) an astonishing type of newness, a newness which is to ask of them no favors, but which is abundantly able to establish itself without their stir, and even to displace them in the face of their resistance. But for the fact that their fingers have grown numb with the handling of power and of money they might detect with a shock of surprise that there has appeared among them a dynamic element, one

which is going to necessitate the recalculation of all time in its terms.

We shall attempt from this point on a description of the intense almost indescribable action resulting in the conversion of the Roman world to the ideals of the inspired young Hebrew reformer identified by his amazing works with the expected Christ. At least he was so identified by the sensitive few who could fathom his illumined teaching—and by hosts of the lame, deaf, blind and wayward who rose to his healing touch. The rest (among those about him) were to separate themselves into an ill-starred company, bearing away from the unique light emitted by him the name of Jew. But before we turn to the Christian movement in Rome, gathering its force at first from a handful of obscure night-meetings dispersed at day-break, we must consider, logically, the family of the Hebrews—those strange Asiatics who have so mightily conditioned our modern life in diverse ways.

CHAPTER IX

THE FAMILY OF THE HEBREWS

A STRIKING difference between the ancient family of the Greeks and Romans and that of the Hebrews is that the latter is still with us as a surviving organism, and one of which we have first-hand impressions. It is impossible to touch upon its characteristic attributes without setting in motion a series of the most palpable reactions. The Jew! Has there been a more astonishing influence in the history of mankind than that which has flowed from his life? Tracing his racial beginnings to the reputed cradle of the human race, he has supplied us with a story of creation the spiritual significance of which has not perished at the hand of the modern literalist, followed by a chronicle of mankind in its most exalted travail. He has brought to birth, as a result of the richest spiritual developments, man in his divinest aspect; at the same time assailing not only the earthly life of this expected saviour but his subsequent influence throughout the ages by the most vigorous materialism to be found among any peoples. Owing to this remarkable and unparalleled contradiction we are confronted by a people divided into two masses; the one carrying forward through centuries and into contemporary life a fixed Jewish tradition; the other, dispersed among many nations, diffusing among them, under no racial banner, the light of the converted Christian.

It is just here that we are to enter into the most significant of chapters in the great interaction of East and West. We have considered so far two Mediterranean civilizations strongly impressed by the ancient culture of the Orient,

but resistant none the less to its fundamental ideals and customs in most respects. We are now to deal with a "peculiar people" among Asiatics, a people possessed from the first with the sense of their own spiritual uniqueness, and the necessity of defending it against confusion with the modes of surrounding peoples. This small but mighty nation is finally to break down the resistant barriers of the western world and to infuse into its culture an illumined element which Asia is destined to reject. Out of this same nation too is to flow a stubborn worldliness obstructing everywhere the advance of spiritual values. In relation to the cultures of the Mediterranean, then, we are to consider a new factor of surprising history. Greek, Roman and Hebrew elements are to be observed henceforth in a long series of combinations and reactions—of which the result, uniting with the Teutonic or barbarian factor, is western Europe.

As to the family as an institution, there is no more characteristic example of the patriarchate than that of the Hebrews, and none which has taken over into modern times more completely its form and temper. The word "patriarch" indeed immediately suggests to us the grand pageant of pastoral Bible life, and beyond this, as impressively near to our own experience, the sombre bent figure of the ghetto Jew, with his long beard, his grave paternal dignity, his almost tragic resistance to the detached and facile family relations of modern life. Yet it is most interesting to discover that the Jews, in common with practically all other peoples, are not exclusively identified with this patriarchal tradition apparently so fundamental, but that their background is peculiarly rich in vestiges of matriarchy. This fact is the more significant that the patriarchal picture is ultimately so distinct, so strongly etched in their case—a point adding weight to the conviction that the mother-order is not a tendency to be found

here and there among certain peoples, but that it exists as a social stage among them all.

Among these matriarchal vestiges observable among the Hebrews may be mentioned a type of marriage suggesting what is technically termed "matrilocal" rather than "patrilocal" residence, a type implying at the same time the looser, less exacting code for woman where she is not governed by man as master. The form of marriage in question involved the mating of a woman with a stranger or outsider who did not bear her away to his own home, but who made instead repeated visits to hers. Here her children were born and reared, in a situation which apparently involved no subjection and no social dishonor. This old custom, persisting in occasional instances into historic times, is not to be confused with harlotry, which it more or less resembles, and yet it may be said to account for the unexplainably high social position in early Hebrew life of occasional women classified as harlots. Other vestiges of a maternal order are to be found imbedded in Semitic speech, which is said to be dominated by forms distinctly indicative of mother kinship. It may also be claimed that the numerous and excellent examples of mother-descent found among Arabian clans are traceable to a period in which the Arabians and Hebrews, as they were to be later known, were united in a common Semitic culture.

Moreover the Bible record from the beginning, and especially at the beginning, suggests two social or spiritual attitudes brought into conflict, one of the two—the first—being more favorable to woman. The first recorded story of creation, commonly conceded to express a more highly spiritual vision than the second, presents man and woman as conceived in equality, and as directly related to the creative principle, each in his own right. The second legend, attributed to a different writer, advances a familiar

Asiatic conception of woman deriving her life from man, later to incarnate for him the idea of temptation, the invitation to fleshly sin. This second conception is distinctly patriarchal, and it ushers in a long and eventful history of the human race as dominated by the masculine idea throughout its social organization. The curse here pronounced on woman has a significance not to be disposed of lightly, although it is beyond the range of positive interpretation: "Thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee"; for this is certainly a penalty implying on the part of woman an earlier more favorable position with which this of subjection is thrown into contrast, a penalty of which the significance cannot be neglected by the student familiar with an early society in which the subjection of woman is not the rule. "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children" is also a condemnation of marked interest to those who have made note of the ease of child-birth frequently found among primitive peoples, and standing forth in striking contrast to the usually painful and difficult experience of the average mother of civilization.

Other suggestions in the scriptural record of a pre-existent maternal order are found in the marriage of Abraham to Sarah, his sister by his father but not by his mother (as mentioned in an earlier chapter); also in the fact that Leah and Rachel are feminine clan names pointing distinctly to an earlier period of descent through women. But aside from these reminiscent touches the Old Testament is throughout a patriarchal chronicle, admirably portraying a father-governed social order, and colored in the main (from a social and human standpoint) by the masculine "complex of superiority" interestingly suggested in the sixth chapter of Genesis in the passage which refers to the mating of the "sons of God" with the "daughters of men" whom they discovered to be fair.

This attitude aligns itself with the dominantly male conception of the Old Testament Jehovah—that masculinization of the deific principle which results in a god of might and revengeful justice, a god presenting largely the attributes of Judge and Warrior—although we must not lose sight of the more gracious qualities disclosed from time to time by the more illumined prophets. On the whole the god of the Old Testament, for all the sublimity of the revelation, is yet a god seen through the lens of patriarchy, of whom the authoritative interpreter is the official father. The masculine priest as husband, patriarch, thus stands as the divinely appointed intermediary between the numerous members of his household and the God they worship. Among these members is the spiritually disfranchised woman of the patriarchate everywhere (with few exceptions), taking no part in the most solemn sacrifices and rituals of the altar. She is excluded at all times from entering the Holy of Holies, or inner shrine of the Hebrew temple, being thus subjected to a type of tabu with respect to woman common to all man-dominated cultures whether of primitive times or of advanced periods of civilization. And the continuance of this status of inferiority among the orthodox is attested to by Talmudic law where one may read, as one of the three benedictions to be repeated by the devout Jew so late as the second century, “Blessed art thou, Lord our God, who has not made me a woman.” The same law declares that the “testimony of one hundred women is equal only to the evidence of one man,” and “luckless is he whose children are daughters”—conceptions indissolubly linked in the eyes of these captives of tradition with the one God of the Old Testament as seen through a masculine lens.

Yet it must be said of the Bible record that it surpasses any other in its inclusion of the affairs of family life, of women and of children; that it is not the typical history

from which the affairs of women and domestic life have been firmly deleted. It does not concern itself exclusively with the military and political exploits of men, as an historic narrative, but also with the desires, expectations and disappointments of women; with family joys and sorrows; with the responsibilities, aspirations and hopes of fathers. In these respects it is a model indeed for that "new history" which would extend its sympathies and perceptions to include all humankind. Here are innumerable episodes of children. There are touches here disclosing the unmistakable beginnings of selective love between men and women. Among no other people is the life-record so social, so varied and complete; it is at once the most divine and the most human of all chronicles.

In addition to this, the more inspired and spontaneous social picture of the Holy Scriptures, we find in both the Old Testament and the Talmud (that ancient body of codes and commentaries) a series of specifically stated laws of marriage and divorce, and even regulations governing betrothal. These are to a certain degree progressive, as for example in the case of the slow advance from the polygamous to the monogamic family, but they stand on the whole for a remarkably fixed ideal of domestic conduct. The Hebrews believed that the regulation of the affairs of private life was among the primary concerns of government—a government which then as today found its center among them in a kinship group not to be displaced by the territorial nation. As a result of this attitude toward domestic affairs our information concerning Hebrew life is abundant, and it is rich not only in facts and codes, but in expressions of tone and feeling.

The organization of the historic Hebrew family, like that of its orthodox counterpart today, was dominated by the religious idea. The patriarch served as priest, not only in administering the elaborate rituals of the Jewish

religion, with its feasts and fasts (as we have seen), but in solemn ethical responsibility for the members of the household. The home was from the beginning as it has continued to be ever since the emphatic center of these observances, not to be displaced by the temple or the synagogue, for these were never destined to take over (like the later Christian church) the essentials of "divine service." Each day in the Hebrew home was a round of ceremonial observances of almost unbelievable minutiae, derived not only from the Torah, or Mosaic Law, with its outstanding Ten Commandments, but based also on sacred tradition, or the "law of the lip," later to be embodied in the precise and voluminous regulations of the Talmud. The fixity of the procedure, as already hinted, was one of its characteristics, a fixity leading to two marked results, as interpreted from the Christian view-point: the remarkable persistence of orthodox family life among the Jews, as dispersed among many nations; and the failure of a large part of Jewry to receive the inspired message of Jesus Christ, the spiritual descendant of psalmists and prophets rather than of priests of the letter.

These precise and elaborate domestic statutes, later to find their counterpart, in point of elaborateness, in the Canon Law of the Roman Catholic Church, need not be considered in detail but in their main outlines only. They demanded to begin with a respect for parents implying strict and unquestioning obedience, and forbidding any opposition to the father in controversy, or any form of judgment against him. This respect was exacted for the father not only as parent and priest but as teacher besides, for the family was the only educational institution for the masses of people up to the Christian era. The main object of this education was formal instruction in the Mosaic Law, and in parts of the Talmud, and it served to equip Hebrew youth with the most precise regulations

covering the entire field of behavior. No small part of this program, however, was the instruction of daughters by mothers in the preparation of food in strict accordance with the Talmudic code; so that both parents were thoroughly involved in the transmitting of orthodoxy to the next generation.

It is not surprising under these circumstances that such conformity was secured, and that morality was permanently identified in the average Hebrew mind with stated law and tradition. Even though the ultimate penalty for this over-codification was a worship of the letter, it must yet be recognized that it was in part this exact sense of law and instinct of obedience which enabled the early Hebrews in their invasions of occupied territory to keep themselves clear of the worship of "strange gods" and to preserve their unquestionable ethical superiority to the peoples with whom they came in contact.

In one marked respect the Hebrew family differed from the Greek and Roman: it was, under the law of Moses, frankly polygamous, in which respect it betrayed its definitely Asiatic origin. But it is only in exceptional instances, like that of Solomon, for example, that we find the Asiatic harem. A natural monogamy commonly prevailed, possibly for economic reasons, and under ordinary circumstances it was only the barren wife who made way for a second consort, as in the case of Sarah and Hagar. Also, either through ethical development or contact with monogamous peoples, polygamy finally fell into disrepute, although it was not formally and completely eliminated, apparently, until after the time of Christ. It may be said on the whole, however, that this technical polygamy did not depress the status of woman any more than the regular concubinage of the Greeks and Romans, coupled in their case with a prostitution sternly denounced among the Hebrews.

In most respects the Hebrew family runs true to type as a patriarchy. The father exercises the usual power over wives, children, slaves and adopted strangers. The leading object of the family, always linked with the idea of family religion, is the production of offspring for the continuance of the "house." Its extinction is looked upon as the most serious of calamities, and we see in the "levirate," a custom previously described, one of the ingenious provisions for the preservation of a line in the event of a man's decease without offspring. (It will be remembered that in this case it devolved upon the brother of the deceased to marry his widow and raise up children in his name.) The rigor of this custom, in common with many others of sternly patriarchal character, was modified in the course of time. Yet the Jewish patriarchy must be seen on the whole as an example of the most remarkable survival of an antique historic form in the midst of environments making for progress and change.

The right of the Hebrew husband to divorce his wife was practically unconditional and we find no real evidence of a reciprocal privilege on the part of women until the first century B.C. Divorce during this long stretch of time was regarded as a purely private matter, and consisted in the husband's handing to the wife a "bill of divorcement" containing the simple statement: "Be thou divorced (or separated) from me." From this there was no redress, and the offspring of the father in such a case belonged to him and remained with him. Although no "grounds" were needed, divorce for barrenness was common. The wife's only protection came centuries later in the form of the "Kethuboth," her dowry made hers in the event of divorce if she was adjudged innocent. In the event of adultery on her part she could be stoned to death under Mosaic law.

It must be said of the Hebrew patriarchy, however,

that in spite of its conventional form it betrays certain qualities of distinction peculiarly its own. Marriage from the first involves at least the formal consent of the parties, respect is demanded not only toward the father but toward both parents, and there appears in the relation of men and women as we have already suggested a foreshadowing of selective modern love. The Hebrew family, for all its moral sternness, yet finds room for more tender humanity, more charity, than is discoverable among the Greeks and Romans, and it is certainly superior to them in its feeling for child life. On the whole the position of woman is also superior, in sentiment if not in statute, although it is outwardly conventionalized and restricted as elsewhere under the strict government of fathers. For an admirable picture of the Hebrew wife in her domestic setting we may turn to the familiar passage in Proverbs which describes the "virtuous woman" whose price is "far above rubies." It is interesting to note that these verses are still read aloud in the modern orthodox household as expressive of the Hebrew ideal:

"The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her, so that he shall have no need of spoil.

She will do him good and not evil all the days of her life.

She seeketh wool, and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands.

She is like the merchant's ship; she bringeth food from afar.

She riseth also while it is yet night, and giveth meat to her household, and a portion to her maidens—

She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff.

She stretcheth out her hand to the poor; yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy—

She maketh fine linen, and selleth it; and delivereth girdles unto the merchant. . . .

She openeth her mouth with wisdom; and in her tongue is the law of kindness.

She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness.

Her children arise up, and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her."

A second passage of Proverbs offers a portrait sharply contrasted with this of the virtuous wife, but like it in its presentation of an historic type. Here is the "woman of the street," in reality the prostitute of all ages and peoples, portrayed with graphic Hebrew eloquence—and characteristic denunciation. It appears as one of many passages in which the father warns his son touching the "strange woman," the "stranger which flattereth with her words":

"For at the window of my house I looked through my casement,

And beheld among the simple ones, I discerned among the youths, a young man void of understanding,

Passing through the street near her corner; and he went the way to her house.

In the twilight, in the evening, in the black and dark night.

And, behold there met him a woman with the attire of an harlot, and subtil of heart.

(She is loud and stubborn; her feet abide not in her house.

Now she is without, now in the streets, and lieth in wait at every corner.)

So she caught him, and kissed him and with an impudent face said unto him,

I have peace offering with me; this day I have payed my vows,

Therefore came I forth to meet thee; diligently to seek thy face, and I have found thee—

With much fair speech she caused him to yield, with the flattering of her lips she forced him.

He goeth after her straightway, as an ox goeth to the slaughter, or as a fool to the correction of the stocks.

. . . as a bird hasteneth to the snare, and knoweth not that it is for life . . .

Let not thine heart decline to her ways, go not astray in her paths.

For she hath cast down many wounded; yea, many strong men have been slain by her.

Her house is the way to hell, going down to the chambers of death."

This second passage, holding us for a moment by its poetic beauty, in true Hebrew fashion, is one of social interest and significance in two respects. In the first place it portrays for us the firm barrier which the Jew tried to set up between his own people, the "chosen" of God, and that most dangerous lure of all, the seduction of foreign women, with their pagan deities, their sensuous Asiatic tone. Had the Hebrews as conquering invaders of already occupied territory broken at this point, all might have been lost in the way of moral superiority. The ability to resist along this particular battle-line of temptation was associated even in the chronicles of Josephus with Hebrew victories; weakness at this point with rout and defeat. Thus we see the Hebrew people proudly and sternly differentiating themselves from other Asiatics (who were to prove in due time, indeed, the least comprehending of neighbors). A second significance of the passage in question warning Hebrew youth against the seduction of harlots lies in its distinct moral stand against a type of license little condemned in Greece and Rome and intimately related to their rapid racial degeneration.

But the remarkable fact about the patriarchate among the Hebrews is that even in its earliest history it yields at moments to something quite beyond itself; that it makes inspired provision for its own final undoing as a social form. A specific ideal destined to have the most marked ultimate influence in family life is released in the life of

Abraham, to work for long centuries of time like leaven in the existing order, only to disclose the full flower of its meaning in the ministry of Christ. It is as if an entire people during this period were in travail with a new conception—a conception first imparted to the half-realizing but magnificently obedient Abraham at the moment when the sacrifice of his only son is apparently demanded of him by the God whom he is pledged to serve. This son, as we will remember, was born to Sarah and Abraham in their old age, after Sarah's long years of humiliating barrenness. Crowning their faith in God, it is indescribably precious because of the circumstances of its coming: now at last Abraham is able to see the fulfilment of his vision that all the nations of the earth shall be blessed through his "seed."

Suddenly, cutting into this human and very understandable rejoicing, there comes to Abraham a divine mandate. "Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt offering upon one of the mountains that I will tell thee of." To read into this moment only the brutality of a barbarous early practice is to miss its larger meaning. The claim of Abraham the father, the highest type of patriarch, is brought into crucial conflict with an overriding principle which he has but dimly discerned but which he cannot violate. His fatherhood must take secondary place, even though it involves the complete extinction of the solemnly important family line so precious to the Hebrew; even though it requires the sacrifice of natural love. At this moving point the vision of one who rises to the status of something more than a father does not falter. His response is instant; he proceeds with the beloved child "unto the place of which God had told him." The scene is one of unrivalled tenderness and stress. "Behold the fire and the wood: but where is the lamb for the burnt offering?" asks the young child as he

sees the altar prepared. Abraham replies to him with unwavering faith: God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering. "So they went both of them together" the record reads. There now comes to pass with mighty spiritual force the deliverance of the child Isaac from the impending sacrifice of his life; the substitution of the ram. "Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him; for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing that thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me."

This is indeed a scene suggesting the primitive background of human sacrifice not far removed, and yielding before our eyes to the animal sacrifice so long continued among the Hebrews. But beyond this it portrays the subjection of the authority of the patriarch—king, priest and father in one person—to a higher law. But for the abasement of this supreme human will, this paramount affection, it would have been hardly possible to establish among the Hebrews the conception of one God. It is possible to perceive just here the barely palpable, the nebulous beginning of universal as contrasted with kinship love—that love only to be released through the subordination of fleshly ties. Yet it is impossible to interpret in advance of its historic unfoldment the mighty importance of this stroke. So far as the family is concerned it is sufficient to realize that the sacred patriarchal line uniting ancestors and descendants in a mortal stream is authoritatively assailed by a new ideal—although the effects of this spiritual interception are hardly to be discerned in the outward family form for centuries.

From this time on, however, the Bible abounds in stories of the special consecration of children to Jehovah—the national God already exalted above family gods, and destined in due time to be conceived as universal. One of the most appealing of these accounts of consecrated

children is that touching the birth of Samuel, born like Isaac of a woman who had long sorrowed because of her barrenness, although she was a loved wife. We are told that Hannah was "in bitterness of soul" and that "therefore she wept and did not eat"—even though her husband had said to her with compassionate love, "Hannah, why weepest thou? And why eatest thou not? And why is thy heart grieved? Am I not better to thee than ten sons?" When Hannah does finally conceive and bear a son she declares that "as long as he liveth he shall be lent to the Lord"—again the consecration of the late-born and prayed-for child. It is impressive to read just here that which is named in the chapter headings of the Bible "Hannah's Song"—so clearly a prototype of the rejoicing of Mary upon her conception of the Christ-child, over a thousand years later on in time.

Indeed one of the remarkable and entirely unique characteristics of the Hebrew family and woman's relation to it, in the days of the later prophets, was that there stood above it at all times the expectation of the birth of the Messiah, the saviour of the people. The hope that she might be the agent of this divine event made many a young Hebrew mother lustrous-eyed before the day of Mary, and it was a prophecy which brooded with mysterious softness over virgin life. In the immediately following chapter we shall consider the advent of this expected saviour who refused to come as king, who called his students friends, and by whose ministry the life of the Hebrew people was tragically rent into two parts, of which one only was to bear through history the name of Jew. The other was to pass into a kind of light in which race was extinguished.

CHAPTER X

THE CHRISTIAN ERA AND WOMANKIND

IN immediately preceding chapters we have attempted to trace the rise and development of a man-made world (to borrow the phrase of contemporary feminism), a society accepting as its central principle the divine right of fathers. This conquering type of social organization at the time of the advent of Christianity is coextensive with civilization itself, dominating the continent of Asia as well as the cultures of the Mediterranean identified with the continent of Europe; and in spite of local diversities of custom, as well as the more basic difference between East and West, the marvel is that the social values established everywhere should be marked by such homogeneity, as touching woman. Everywhere her inferiority is a fixed fact, although it may be variously emphasized; everywhere she is relegated to secondary rank or a tributary status. She has now quite disappeared as that most shining and resilient person with whom we at first made acquaintance, to reappear as *hausfrau* or housemistress and the bearer of legitimate heirs to her husband. Both of these functions are best fostered by her relative confinement indoors; and even though, as in the exceptional case of Rome, her movements are less restricted, she is still expected to live for the pleasure and profit of men, whether as wife, or as that superficially gayer bondswoman set apart to divert and beguile.

Marriage has come to mean, then, throughout the areas of civilization, a union between man and woman entered into and maintained on thoroughly unequal terms. It is

a union which implies on woman's part a strict fidelity to her partner, but it leaves man still in possession of a practical freedom in the sex-relation which advances him little beyond group marriage. In Asia (among most peoples) polygamy is current, involving man's open and legal right to the possession of several wives, all of whom are pledged to fidelity to him. In Europe, as represented by the culture of the Mediterranean border, marriage is formulated as a legal monogamy freely supplemented by concubinage and prostitution, on the part of men. In other words a monogamic standard has been practically established in the case of woman, but the plural relationships of men continue largely unrestricted. Woman, in short, is accountable to her husband, but the husband is not accountable to his wife. Such regulation as there is for men is the result of a sort of gentlemen's agreement among themselves with respect to property rights in women. This system from the standpoint of reproduction and the identification of offspring is entirely satisfactory to man, in that it still gives reign to his instincts, at the same time establishing a masculine line of descent and securing to him his sons and heirs. Underlying the entire procedure from first to last is an exultance on his part with respect to the idea of fertility, an exaltation of the reproductive process, of himself as procreator. This attitude expresses itself through the long history of phallic worship, the psychology of which is intimately related everywhere to the rule of fathers.

The patriarchy thus stands forth as the reign of triumphant masculinity, involving not only a series of well-defined institutional forms and customs, but correlative mental attitudes of which the dominant, in men, may be summed up as the "complex of superiority." The virtues prescribed for woman and gradually identified with her femininity (until they come to seem its peculiar

attribute) are docility, fidelity, industry, modesty, self-depreciation—in reality the qualities invariably inculcated in any class existing in the interests of another. These attributes—of which the adventitious character is supported by woman's earlier history—are in the patriarchate and through the thoroughness of its establishment so almost indelibly etched upon social consciousness that their origin and nature are practically lost sight of. All matriarchy is engulfed in oblivion, there is no one at this hour equipped to read the script of its vestiges, and woman—with few exceptions—adjusts her mentality as well as her program to the exigencies of her accepted inferiority and subordination.

With these points borne in mind we shall be able to comprehend more fully the remarkable effect of Christianity upon women as a class during the first three centuries, in which we are to witness such a striking overturning of patriarchal values. Here is the first great movement of all history appealing alike to men and women, attracting them both without discrimination and in countless numbers. Here is a mighty ardor in which the consciousness of difference is at the outset almost completely lost. We shall see how this day of spontaneous participation on the part of women is a short one, limited to the contemporary influence of the great revelator and certain of his immediate disciples and apostles. Yet we shall have discovered in this brief time the native response of woman to the Christian revelation, so that we shall be able henceforth to set a dividing line between the patriarchal rôle which again threatens to engulf her and her salient never-to-be-forgotten part as the early Christian, instant in her response to the touch of healing, to the inspired doctrine, and to the demand for victorious martyrdom.

But it should not be astonishing that a conception first

disclosed to woman should have appealed to women. Among the Hebrew people, at once the progenitors and the bitter adversaries of the electric movement with which we are about to deal—insofar as it is to be accounted for historically and not as a thing of sheer light and spiritual genius—the position of woman was typically patriarchal as we have seen, in its main outline and detailed customs; but because of the elusive spiritual tendency destined in due time to gather force and divide the Jewish people into two parts like a bolt of lightning, we have among them a patriarchy penetrated as nowhere else by prophecies and possibilities touching the life of women. They were incorporated, as potential mothers of the expected Messiah, in the larger spiritual destiny with which this profoundly religious and poetic people were continually preoccupied. They were impelled like men to a searching study of the scriptures and especially of the prophets, because there were to be found in these sacred writings matters which pertained to them. This was for Hebrew women something of an escape from the slave psychology prevailing among other peoples, and it accounts in a measure for that one among them to whom was to befall “great things.”

It is not then as something apart from the harmonious order of things that we have at the beginning of the remarkable sequence of events ushering in a new day, the figure of a woman, Mary, the illumined Hebrew mother, who knew herself to be the “blessèd among women” before she was able to commune with another soul with respect to her exalted destiny. The air about the unborn child, as we have seen, was alive with prophecy. Its coming had been foretold not only by such inspired Jews as Isaiah but by Asiatic seers not identified with the Hebrew nation. In the midst of these quivering influences, familiar with the great promise to the house of David, which is her house, Mary grows suddenly aware that she herself has been

enlisted in the divine undertaking announced by prophetic voices. She is the "expectant mother" in the sense that no one has ever been before her. It is a moment not to be borne alone, so that she must needs hasten with her momentous secret to the house of her cousin Elizabeth, herself to become the mother of the last of a prophetic line—a line dissolving in the presence of the divine event itself.

The majesty of woman's rôle is here sublimely supported by another woman. "Whence is this to me" cries Elizabeth, "that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" At which moment Christianity is brought to birth in the awareness of two women: the one, with her great tidings; the other listening, confirming. It is these two, united in expectant motherhood, who are thus first to identify the unborn child as the Messiah, that one in whom John, son of Elizabeth, is to see later the "Lamb of God." Again it is the aged prophetess Anna, as well as the devout Simeon, who discovers in the child Jesus, brought up to the temple in Jerusalem by Mary and Joseph, the expected Christ.

But this spiritual perception among Hebrew women was not, as we have seen, the fruit of a general religious freedom and equality accorded them by men in the daily religious practice of their national life. These practices, from the standpoint of law and ritual, were, as they continued to be among those who were to bear the name of Jew, firmly patriarchal—a tone preserved in the Talmudic regulations and expressed in the orthodox Jewish family not only through the centuries but in modern life. Woman in other words did not derive her freedom from tradition but rather in the spontaneous movement which transcended it and eventually broke from it at a point of dramatic conflict. It is nevertheless important to handle the relation of woman to religion among the Hebrews with the utmost discrimination, for even the orthodox convention with its masculinization of the deific principle and of worship had

served to protect the life of Hebrew women against an inroad of inferior conceptions.

In order to grasp this point it must be borne in mind that the Asiatics with whom the Hebrews came in contact, and against whose religious practices they so sturdily defended themselves, were not like themselves lacking in the worship of feminine divinities. There were many in the pagan pantheon; and it was observed by the Hebrews that the worship of these goddesses was attended by the most sensuous and demoralizing of all so-called religious practices. Ishtar in Babylonia, Aphrodite in Greece, Venus in Rome—these were examples of the type of feminine deity associated with revels leading quite away from the firm moral precepts on which the Hebrews were attempting to build their life as a “chosen people.” In their rejection of the feminine factor as thus expressed they were following that true intuition which repeatedly defended them against fleshly seduction. For in these pagan feminine deities there were exalted only those qualities in woman which a world of unrestricted masculine domination and license was able to record. They stood preëminently for sensuous attraction, for the idea of fertility, of reproduction merely. They were worshipped in the main for the purpose of increasing fecundity, of fostering the birth of children; and in addition to this—exemplifying the element of fraud which has constantly followed close at the heel of the religious idea—they were set up as idols to cover with a divine excuse the most profane of human practices.

Against such earthly conceptions of religion as these, coupled with the downright fraud which we have just noted, the Hebrews set themselves with a true instinct of spiritual self-preservation; and if there resulted at the time the exclusion from their religious conceptions of what may be termed the feminine principle, it may be insisted

that this principle as seen through the lens of Asia, or even Greece and Rome, included little which might not profitably be eliminated. This was not indeed the whole story with respect to woman and religion; among the peoples in which woman had attained to an individual status and dignity there were goddesses of a nobler kind, as for example the goddess Neith, that oldest of Egyptian deities, referred to in ancient texts as "the Mother of the Morning Sun, the Creatrix of the Evening Sun, she that was when nothing else was and created what came thereafter." And we may note in Greece and Rome a survival of reverence for the virgin in the temple of the Parthenon (a name derived from the epithet "parthenos" or virgin), the virgin priestesses of Greece, and the Vestal Virgins of the Roman state religion. But it was not with these matriarchal vestiges of a feminine ideal that the Hebrews came primarily in contact. They were continually pressed upon instead by patriarchy in decadence. Their stern avoidance of false woman worship was actually though quite unconsciously preparing the way for woman's exceptional rôle among them.

The figure of Mary, then, as the mother of man spiritually conceived, stands singularly aloof from the feminine divinities that flickered like a false and seductive light about the borders of Israel—even though she is to suffer confusion in due time with these very earthly deities so far removed from her own clear spiritual tone. At the beginning of the Christian narrative she presents a perfection of dignity which entirely differentiates her from the idols of an essentially masculine world. The impression she produces is one of astonishing completeness; the steadily serene embodiment of the vision of her people, entirely adequate to the demands laid upon her, sure of her mission, practical in parenthood; yet at the same time the inspired, the perceptive, the radical guardian and mother of one

whose life and work are destined to break with the established order and threaten every boundary of knowledge in the days to come.

The remarkable circumstances of the birth of Jesus, like those of his death, are presented in the record of the New Testament in luminous fragments which break with the tenor of human understanding, as if at moments the partition wall between the finite and the infinite had dropped away. Yet they must be seen as inevitably linked with the life to follow, and with the power and influence irradiating from its every word and act. It may be said of the accounts of the nativity as rendered by Luke and Matthew that they are light falling upon a broken surface of contradiction. The account of Matthew is prefaced to begin with by the usual patriarchal genealogy recording descent through fathers—strange prelude to the statement which immediately follows that Mary, who was espoused to Joseph, was found with child before they came together. This, the virgin or spiritual conception identifying Mary with the prophecy long laid to the heart of the Hebrew people, is again attested to by Luke—where it is again accompanied by a patriarchal genealogy tracing the lineage of Jesus through Joseph rather than his mother, although by virtue of their kinship, Mary and Joseph are both related to these records (so contradictory in detail) as David's lineal descendants. It is interesting in this connection to note that the genealogy supplied by Matthew, for all its patriarchal character, includes four mothers, among them Ruth, and Bathsheba, the wife of David.

But it is the illumined not the conventional statement with respect to the lineage of Jesus which is to receive vivid confirmation in the exceptional attitude of the growing boy himself and the later man in regard to fatherhood. This attitude is first made apparent when Jesus at the age

of twelve, having come up to Jerusalem to the feast of the Passover with his parents and kinsmen, lingers in the temple instead of returning with them. After a day's travel from the city it is discovered that the boy is not to be found among the members of the patriarchal family or "house" to which he is assumed to belong, and Mary and Joseph, dismayed in immemorial fashion, turn back to Jerusalem. Finding him in the temple after three days of anxious searching, his mother administers a parental rebuke—to which he responds with a kind of ringing power, touched with the incalculable overtones with which the world was to grow soon familiar: "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" This detachment from human fatherhood is to be confirmed not once but innumerable times in his brief history, in which it stands forth with amazing distinctness against the strong patriarchal background which we have repeatedly described. "Call no man on earth father, for one is your Father which is in heaven"; "Our Father which art in heaven"; "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world; again, I leave the world, and go to the Father."

These unique sayings, fraught with a meaning to be fathomed only through spiritual illumination, have yet an arresting significance to the student of social institutions. Here is an authoritative hand raised for the first time against the reign of fathers; against the social construction of the then contemporary world of civilization. Respect for fathers, obedience and honor to fathers, the worship of God through the agency of fathers—was not all this as the essential basis of society dangerously assailed? The father is here swept away as an intermediary between God and the sons, daughters, wives and slaves who gathered as inferior beings about the patriarchal altar. (Would it have been possible

to strike a more radical note with respect to organization and tradition?) Moreover the same exaltation of the father had carried over into statecraft and official priesthood. To attack these values—*this* value—was to weaken and undermine at practically every point the existing order. Have we not just here the first hand lifted against a man-made world, against the masculinization of social values?

The approach of Jesus to the family itself was no more conservative, no more cautious with respect to tradition, than his attitude toward fatherhood. "I am come," he cries, "to set households at variance," and "He that loveth father and mother more than me is not worthy of me"—(sayings which flash into a spiritual unity with the demands of the God of Abraham, that God exacting centuries earlier the willingness to lay upon the altar at need the beloved son.) Again we find him defying the strong Hebrew tradition of family relationship, the kinship tie, when it was reported to him "while he yet talked with the people" that his mother and brethren stood without, desiring to speak with him. "Who is my mother and who are my brethren?" he asks with a sweep of universality melting into more intimate affection as he stretches forth his hand toward his disciples, those who have perceived and known him: "Behold my mother and my brethren!" Yet we have evidence that this new type of love for others than his "own"—so difficultly realized by those in bondage to blood-ties—did not for a moment weaken his relation to his mother, for whom in the very hour of the crucifixion he made tenderest provision—that mother related to him also as one of the unfalteringly comprehending who stood by him to the last.

But it was impossible to assail the patriarchal tradition at one point without affecting it at all points. Nothing could have been more unusual in the light of existing

customs than the easy and constant relationship of Jesus to all women, a relation which it has taken nineteen spiritually progressive centuries even to approach. He continually expressed to women his highest meanings, he brought them into constant touch with his healing power, he cherished them as friends. And he did not stop with a mere failure to discriminate against them. In the immortal story of Mary and Martha in their domestic setting he consciously attacks the conception of woman as mere hausfrau, as one primarily the servitor of material man. At the moment when Mary is offering to him the spiritual response which is to support later his greatest of demonstrations there appears the anxious, the traditional Martha, "encumbered with much serving," "careful and troubled about many things." In its time and place the comment of the great guest upon the positions of the two women is astonishing. With an authoritative gesture he breaks down the age-old identification of woman with material servitude, inviting her forth into that contemplation of the higher issues from which she has been excluded in all man-governed civilizations before him. That which he pronounces the "good part of Mary" becomes prophetic of the greater rôle which, as he predicted, is not to be taken from her.

In answer to specific questions relative to marriage and divorce Jesus declared the insufficiency of the standards of Moses, which he explained in terms of the "hard-heartedness" of their day, and supported the reforms of the Pharisaic party who had instituted a marriage-document or settlement to protect the wife against arbitrary dismissal, or repudiation. He thus disposed of the Mosaic "writing of divorcement," or masculine privilege of dropping a wife practically without grounds, and in so doing acknowledged the progressive character of marriage as an institution, the importance of advancing form and

ritual to keep pace with inward change. We are familiar with his sanction of the marriage of one man with one woman for life, and he pointed to the two as forming the basis of a new family both partners of which were justified in leaving their parents to form the new tie. He sanctioned separation only in the event of adultery on the part of either wife or husband, which separation was not considered to admit of the remarriage of either partner during the other's life-time. Beyond these institutional considerations he referred (somewhat mystically, so it seemed to his hearers) to a life which should involve neither marrying nor giving in marriage—a suggestion pointing, like so many of his acts and words, to a realm only appreciable to the finest intuition.

On the whole a very small part of the Master's teaching is devoted to problems of institutional morality and organization. He was primarily concerned with effecting instead a spiritual rebirth in man—an inward change which should of itself and through its own unfoldment expose the false and reveal the true. He did not proceed through the formulation of a program, the agency of law and letter, but rather by the discovering of man to himself as spiritually whole, or holy—under the baffling masks of sin, of sickness, of death itself. It was from this standpoint of vision that he approached such "fallen" women as the sinner of the house of Simon, the woman taken in adultery, mindful not only of the potential purity within them, but of the specious moral code on which their status rested. Defying the Pharisaic position at this point, he movingly defended them against an entire society, a world—at the same time dispelling their illusion with his touch of authentic insight, as well as his divine compassion. He saw the perfectability of humankind through love; and nothing was able to disturb his sense of a single standard—whether the offended respectability of Simon, or the more

drastic attack upon him of the accusers of the erring woman—destined to file out abashed and defeated under his indictment: “He that is without sin among you let him cast the first stone at her.”

It is not surprising that spiritual independence of this character with respect to institutions and social values should have caused a stir of apprehension in official circles, especially in view of the fact that Jesus—more and more widely identified with the promised Christ—was attracting to himself increasing multitudes through his miracles of healing. His message was thus couched not only in words but in mighty works—“marvels” which commanded the astonished awe of hosts about him. He exhibited with respect to the phenomena of life a power not to be accounted for on merely human terms, and running counter to much that had hitherto been regarded as immutable law. He healed the sick, the deaf, the blind, he lifted into sudden activity those who had been unable to walk, he cast out the devils of insanity and epilepsy. Wonders of this kind had appeared before at rare intervals in the life of the Hebrew people, flowing from the hand of religious men, as for example, Elijah; but here was one with whom such miracles were the rule rather than the exception. It was more than once reported by a body of eye-witnesses that the dead were brought to life by this greater than Elijah. And the astonishing career of the young Hebrew teacher, ending most tragically in crucifixion, was crowned by his own resurrection—attested to first by a woman, Mary, and thereafter by a number of his immediate disciples, who exhibited from this time on an increasing measure of the same miraculous power, evoked in connection with his name.

News of these miracles spread like wild-fire not only throughout Jewry but about the Mediterranean coasts. Remarkable accounts of what was taking place in the

Roman province of Judea were carried to the imperial city by those who had seen and heard—traders, soldiers, travellers. Moreover there was arising in Rome itself a formidable development of the Christian sect, at first identified with the peaceful Jewish colony which had long enjoyed the tolerance of the city, but destined to be suddenly differentiated from it by the drama of the great Roman fire, responsibility for which was definitely laid at the door of the new Christian group. This charge, though a false one, brings the Christian sect into a sudden and terrible publicity through the martyrdom now imposed upon it, beginning with the outrages of Nero's reign and followed during a period of two hundred and fifty years by a series of persecutions devised by a physically lustful and cruel people. But the Christian spirit is more than equal to all the dire vicissitudes to follow. As living torches in the Emperor's garden, thrown to the lions before crowded lists, confronted everywhere by such penalties as banishment, imprisonment, torture, death—these amazing Christians are seen not only to endure but to smile. And among the martyrs are innumerable young girls bearing not only without flinching but with the same indescribable look of Christian peace the most extreme bodily torture—from which a retracted word would have repeatedly brought instant release. It is a striking characteristic of the new movement that it is filled with women.

This militant opposition on the part of Rome, together with a continuance of the great works for which the Christians are famed, results in a whirlwind of conversion extending rapidly from Italy into Spain, Gaul, Germany and North Africa, and expanding in Asia beyond Palestine into Asia Minor, and even Persia, Arabia and Armenia. Against this force the strategy of Rome is powerless; she is even, ironically enough, the center of a growing kingdom

which she has continued to denounce as irreconcilably opposed to her interests and established order. Somewhere between the second and third centuries Tertullian, one of the Christian writers, describes to what extent the new sect has prevailed. He says, with reference to Rome: "We are but of yesterday, and we fill all your cities, islands, forts, councils, even the camps themselves, the tribes, the decuries, the palaces, the senate and the forum." "The grievance is," he writes again, considering the plight of the Roman government, "that the State is filled with Christians." In the same passage he refers to the significant fact that "both sexes indifferently" are passing over to the Christian ranks. Items of this character, attested to by fragmentary comments to be found elsewhere among contemporary writers, give vivid hints of a mighty movement as yet of no importance to the orthodox historian, the chronicler of the hour, but one destined to bring his conventional blindness into the most impressive relief as time passes.

In the fourth century, with the imperial edict of Milan securing toleration to the Christian sect, we enter upon a period in which the Christian teaching is gradually to identify itself with the specific laws by which people live—a movement originating (interestingly enough) in the Eastern churches, but gradually falling under the leadership of Rome itself. At this moment the delicate ear may note the faint sound of retreating wings—as inspiration, the touch of healing, yield to the letter of firm codification, an effort to embody the Christian spirit in formal rules. A great development is to ensue—of mighty losses, of mighty gains. It is not surprising that the bewildered historian has called the period to follow the "Dark Ages," naïvely registering the fact that they are dark to him. But it is our business to trace into this confusing time one thread alone—the family of Christendom. In this

venture we shall be pursuing the one possible course, if we would follow a line of progress as touching family life. Outside of Christendom the patriarchate is destined to exhibit no sign of change—except as the Christian ideal is, in due time, to beat in upon it.

CHAPTER XI

THE CELIBATE IDEAL

BEFORE considering the casting of Christianity into a body of specific rules one who would keep close to the true animus of the movement must pause to study one of its more elusive aspects—the ascetic tendency leading to monasticism in the case of both men and women. This tendency, deeply inherent in mankind, is not ushered in by the Christian teaching, but it is to prevail widely as one of its implications, and to stand forth as a salient factor in the Christianization of western Europe. The simplest definition of the asceticism to be here considered is the avoidance or renunciation of fleshly ties in the interests of spirit. This means in Christian history a break with marriage on the part of an enormous number of men and women who voluntarily embrace the celibate life. The relation of this mode of life to the family which it seems in reality to discredit if not to eliminate is of marked significance, bearing not only upon its institutional aspects but even more profoundly upon what may be called the psychology of love, love “in the making”—the phrase of the present-day historian who sees in mental and moral values a progressive sequence. It is because this practice has so definitely modified the relative, the temporal institutions and attitudes of humankind that it is appropriate to a social study—one which does not attempt to drop the plummet into the waters of philosophy or metaphysics.

Before the advent of Christianity asceticism in its various forms was to be found in India and among the Jews, Greeks and Egyptians, although it was only in India

that it had resulted in a highly organized monastic system. The nearest approach to this development was to be found among the Jews in the sect of the Essenes (frequently considered to have been one of the marked influences on the mind of Jesus), and in a sect in the neighborhood of Alexandria, the latter being of special interest owing to the fact that Christian ascetism was to appear first in Egypt. Here to our positive knowledge there existed in the fourth century nine Christian monasteries for men and one nunnery for women—following the earlier seclusion of St. Anthony who lived for twenty years as an independent hermit, attracting numbers of the faithful to that type of self-renunciation. From Egypt the movement spread into Syria, thence to invade Greek and Slavonic Christianity, and finally to arrive in Rome. It was thus, like Christianity itself, a movement of Eastern origin, but it was not fully adapted to its western uses until it was considerably transformed in the hands of western leaders. Chief among these was St. Benedict who eliminated the Oriental factor of bodily austerity, supplanting it with a program of prayer, reading and outdoor work. This rational system made of the monastery a remarkably effective instrument during the many centuries in which it was the task of the church to fuse into one body classic and barbarian peoples, saving the learning of the one and at the same time giving scope to the cruder but more ardent qualities of the other. It was the rule rather than the exception that where new religious orders were developed there was a branch for women.

But it must be borne in mind in connection with this development that the ascetic tendency as springing from the Christian faith had appeared in homes, in families, long before the appearance of a united movement, or any outside provision for those who would withdraw themselves from a natural life. It had arisen in Christian

households as a spontaneous and individual desire to attain a more perfect spiritual estate, and was thus in many cases an idealistic instinct. It precipitated at the same time, and quite inevitably, the keenest domestic problems, so that it became necessary for the growing church to convert itself immediately into a court of domestic relations—in which we have the genesis of Canon Law in its domestic aspects. There was no one called upon more continually to grapple with these earliest knotty problems than the Apostle Paul, who was repeatedly pressed into the making of decisions in the most difficult cases, and these decisions—so human, so Asiatic, in spite of his illumination—were to serve as the foundation for the work of the later Fathers in their effort to provide a complete formula for the control of personal conduct.

One of the first and most urgent problems in the early movement was what to do when one partner desired to withdraw from a previously contracted marriage, either to follow the ascetic ideal in the household, or to enter religious orders. Married partners were encouraged in cases of this character to continue in their mutual obligations, except by mutual consent—a wise ruling which undoubtedly gave stability in the first days to homes threatened by half-realized and even fanatical attitudes. There was no dissolution of the marriage tie for one who found himself “yoked with an unbeliever,” except for the man who wished to enter a monastic order, but no one was expected deliberately to enter into this type of “mixed” marriage. This exception in favor of the man, however, was typically patriarchal in that it established an open door for him where one was closed for woman. The husband who made provision for his wife might take holy orders; the wife on the other hand was admonished to be faithful and held to her original promise.

Among the three classes of women recognized in the

Christian order—virgin, wife and widow—the status of the wife was lowest, so rapid had been the change in viewpoint wrought by the ascetic ideal. This status was even further depressed in the event of a second marriage, which was frowned upon by the early churches but allowed as preferable to an incontinent life. The widow who had the dignity not to remarry was permitted a wider range of activity than the wife, being allowed, at the age of sixty and under strict surveillance, to care for the sick, the poor, and friendless orphans. If she had been but once married she was also allowed to become a nun. But it was the virgin who was exalted above all other types under the new régime. She was set free for practically the first time in history from compulsory marriage, and she was released with honor (a privilege anticipated in the life of the priestess of antiquity, but nowhere prevailing throughout the social order, as in this case). The only excuse for marriage, indeed, according to St. Jerome, was that it might give birth to virgins; he even went so far as to say that the end and purpose of the man of God was “to cut down with the axe of Virginité the wood of Marriage.” It was commonly the case that the virgin made her choice of the unmarried life voluntarily, although she was occasionally dedicated to it by a parental vow. She was permitted to take the vows herself at the age of twelve without her parents’ sanction, and even if they objected—so precious was she at this period to the Christian Church. Yet even the virgin under these most favorable conditions did not escape the patriarchal shadow. She could be a nun or deaconess, but in neither class could she exercise the spiritual functions of the ministry—a discrimination against woman carried over not only into the Catholic Church of today but into such Protestant churches as the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, whose history might be expected to point to a more liberal organization.

For woman was associated, in these Asiatic beginnings of the Christian life, as later, with a conception of great antiquity which assumed her spiritual inferiority to man. We have seen the prevalence of this typically patriarchal conception in historic civilizations, but it was nowhere so deeply etched as upon the Oriental mind, probably owing to the fact that no other masculine civilization had gone so far in sexual indulgence and sexual preoccupation as the Oriental. As a result of this trend the ascetic instinct of the East was something more than a delicate and mystic communion with the things of spirit, attended by self-denial; it was at the same time a violent recoil from woman as the arch-seducer, the fleshly life incarnate. Bred to the uses of the carnal life, the harem, identified with allurements, indulgence and nothing else, woman is seen as the age-old temptation from which her former partner in revels, now the ascetic, seeks escape. She is sinister, not charming. Caught in the toils of his own masculine conception, man now passionately lays at the door of women what he has come to feel the guilt of their relation. (It is interesting to see a tinge of this same type of reaction in the phase of modern feminism which sees in man a sensual principle, and undertakes to attain a higher spiritual level not so much in the avoidance of sensuality itself as of him.)

The Asiatic culture back of the conceptions in question, favorably modified in the case of the Hebrews but dominated none the less by the story of a seducing Eve—this Asiatic culture was to create for Paul his conception of womankind, a conception destined largely to determine the place of woman in the Christian movement, especially in relation to Church activities which were even more subject to the suggestions of tradition than private life. "A man ought to cover his head" writes Paul to the Corinthians, "forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God; but the

woman is the glory of the man." And again, "Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law"; to which he further adds: "Let them be silent and at home consult their husbands"—a series of strokes with which he reaffirms the subordination of womankind and establishes in no uncertain terms their ineligibility to church office.

Yet it must be said of Paul that he was confronted by dismaying problems of a character not to be settled by mere dogmatic definitions. He was continually pressed upon by living men and women desirous of attaining an ideal life yet bringing to it not only the fallibility of human nature, but the limitations of a world not to be compared to the more mature social order of our day. Even the most ardent feminist must guard against reading into woman as Paul knew her the modern poise and fitness which has been attained only through a difficult and long ascent. Moreover, in addition to the Asiatic prejudice and habit, there was at hand the example of licentious Rome, a decadent civilization in which the liberty accorded woman did not present itself in convincing form. In any case the apostle Paul was less abusive than his successors who attempted to save the converted Christian from woman's wiles. It was frequently the case, in the discourse of these spiritual guides, that no language was severe enough for woman's condemnation, the council of Macon (585 A.D.) trying to decide officially whether or not woman possessed a soul—the decision carrying in her favor by a narrow vote.

The following excerpts, (the most striking of which are assembled in Miss Goodsell's excellent study), set forth this patristic attitude in no doubtful terms. "Above all it seems right that we turn away from the sight of women," cries one of the Church fathers, "for it is a sin not only to

touch, but to look; and he who is rightly trained must especially avoid them." Writes St. Chrysostom: "What is woman but an enemy to friendship, an unavoidable punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation—a wicked work of nature covered with a shining varnish." Another, rising to a higher and more characteristic pitch of invective, breaks forth with the following: "And do you not know that you are (each) an Eve? The sentence of God on this sex of yours lives in this age: the guilt must of necessity live too. *You* are the devil's gateway: *You* are the unsealer of that forbidden tree; *You* are the first deserter of that divine law. *You* destroyed so easily God's image, man. On account of *Your* desert—even the Son of God had to die!"

While this state of mind led to the immense vogue of ascetic practices on the part of man, woman, as we have seen, was equally dissatisfied with the old sex-relation (even though she might be soulless); was equally ready to embrace a celibate existence. She was appealed to, like man, by the idea of escaping marriage, especially in view of the marked restrictions it imposed upon her as contrasted with the exhilarating opportunities of the cloistered life. Technically indeed she was to escape life and the world but actually she found both more fully than she had done before at any time. For the nun was in reality the first professional woman, the first to release her personal abilities in an area not ruled by men. While there had been brilliant individual women in the past, like Sappho and Aspasia, here was a type or class, operating in a valid field of professional activity. The effect of this opportunity was to demonstrate a marked capacity in woman equal to that found in man and not unlike it. This demonstration was to produce a distinct change in the attitude of men toward women throughout Christian civilization—a change which we shall trace more particu-

larly in a chapter on romantic love. Its immediate effect was the advancement of a number of notable women leaders drawn from the aristocratic caste.

Nunneries, as we have already indicated, were prevalent everywhere as an important feature of the monastic movement, and at the head of each of these was a lady abbess, a woman commonly thirty years of age or over, unmarried, and usually of the ruling class. It is this abbess who must be seen as practically the first professional woman of patriarchal history and whose career brilliantly sustains the claims of modern woman touching the capacity of her sex in other than domestic fields. The abbess to begin with was elected by a popular vote of the nuns as a body—a practice which began her liberation by delivering her from the necessity of pleasing men. For the first time she was to perform a work, to stand forth as a person, immediately appraised by women; and this fact of itself was like the opening of a window and the letting in of fresh air. The nunnery was not independent of men in a final sense, being under the official surveillance of the Church, but the day's work went on practically out from under the shadow of masculine tradition. Woman being thus enabled to part with the time-honored feminine qualities of meekness, subordination, plasticity, and "sex-appeal"—at least as abbess—she proceeded rapidly to show herself an excellent administrator, a scholar, a politician, and a woman capable at the same time (interestingly enough) of a larger, a more Platonic relation with men than had appeared before her day.

For the lady abbess, in the prime of her career, was not consigned to a life of seclusion in any sense. She dressed elaborately, (there are hints of purple, scarlet, fur, the crisping-iron), she travelled, she corresponded with notable persons of the time—bishops, kings and princes; and she frequently performed the functions of an immense

land-holder in addition to her responsibilities as director of a religious order. We read for example of one abbess of a Cistercian monastery in Spain who was allowed, by special concessions, an extraordinary range of jurisdiction including the powers of spiritual administration commonly denied all women. This jurisdiction extended over the royal abbey, and all the convents, churches and hermitages affiliated with it; in addition to which (by the favor of the king) she was accorded unlimited secular authority over more than fifty villages. She held courts, convoked synods, confirmed abbesses and even licensed priests. And this case, though an extreme example of woman's scope as abbess, is not an isolated one, for similar cases are to be found in Italy, France and Germany. In England especially, though not in England alone, may be noted also the phenomena of the double monastery, or the monastery with affiliated branches for men and women, a type frequently exalting woman to uniquely high rank. The fact of the existence even of such an institution implies an advance over the traditional idea of the necessary relation between men and women, and although it fell into very predictable difficulties and was finally abandoned as a type, it was yet a definite feature of the monastic system and one not to be too cynically dismissed. These double monasteries were frequently presided over by an abbess—one of whom grieves over the account she will have to render of her administration in the Day of Judgment.

In this and other instances the authority of the abbess rivalled that of the most venerated bishops. In Germany especially many of them ranked as independent princes of the Empire, recognizing no ecclesiastical superior but the Pope. The abbess in such a case could not only strike coins but could summon a contingent of armed knights. Except by special and extremely rare concessions, however, she was excluded from performing the distinctly spiritual

functions of the priest. It is not surprising that she occasionally usurped this prerogative—being habituated to so much scope—and that she occasionally brought upon her proud leadership the rod of discipline; for her area, though wide, was circumscribed, in the last analysis, by a man-governed Church. Instances of this character are occasionally attested to by contemporary manuscripts, of which the following is an eloquent example, in its reference to:

“Certain abbesses, who, contrary to the established discipline of the Church of God presume to bless the people, impose their hands on them, make the sign of the cross on the foreheads of men, and confer the veil on virgins, employing during the ceremony the blessing reserved exclusively for priests.”

Other complaints were entered to the effect that certain abbesses in reading the Gospel presumed publicly to preach. Departures of this character were denounced by the Pope (as they would be denounced in the majority of orthodox Christian churches today) as “unheard of, most indecorous and highly preposterous.”

Other activities of abbesses and nuns which they were able to carry on unmolested were enterprises in the field of scholarship, in which a number of secular books were produced—among them works on philosophy and on science, the latter picturesque and inaccurate like those of Mediæval men, but inquiring and alert. Another activity in which the nuns surpassed any of the workers of a later world was that of embroidery, which was not only carried in their hands to a high pitch of artistic beauty, but which was frequently epic in its portrayal of historic or symbolic episode, thus laying the foundations for the great art of tapestry to follow.

Yet it must not be imagined that these striking and somewhat obvious activities defeated the religious

purpose in the name of which the orders had come into being. This purpose was everywhere expressed in the prayerful devoutness of majorities of women who had escaped from the indignities of secular life into that which was over and above all a religious world. These orders indeed provided something of an avenue for the spiritual exaltation and self-sacrifice of the age of martyrs, at least such was the case in the earlier days of Church history when the mystical note was still to be heard above political and theological dispute. The nunneries like the monasteries produced in these days their saints of authentic vision; and it was to the credit of the great Church of which they were a part that these like the men were honored with canonization. This process, in early Christianity, was effected by the joint action of the bishops, to be restored after the eleventh century exclusively to the Holy See. Among the especially important requirements for canonization was the accredited miracle of healing, that healing which had formed so striking a fruit of the early faith. But this was to be gradually displaced by the institutional and medical care of the sick, which was to be carried through the centuries and into modern times as a ministry largely in the hands of celibate women, except for the physicians' service. It was the nuns also who were to become the "sisters of the poor," and who were to include in their ministry the extensive care of foundlings, the very numerous unclaimed and unwanted children of a world still departing widely from the monogamous ideal of Christian marriage.

Most notable among the earlier women mystics were St. Hildegard of Germany, Elizabeth of Hungary and St. Catherine of Siena, Italy, all of them distinguished for their sanctity of life, and characterized by what the Quakers were later to term the "inner light." So great indeed was the fame of St. Catherine that she was enabled

to mediate a peace between the Florentines and Pope Urban VI, illustrating the intimate relation between the mystic ideal and civil affairs in the conception of the Middle Ages—a conception advanced by the English Puritan to a point of contact with modern life. Towering above all women mystics, however, is the moving figure of Joan of Arc, not nunnery-bred but of independent vision, following her voices into a victorious leadership in national affairs, and defending before her judges the great principle of first-hand inspiration which was to make a breach in the Mediæval as in successive orthodoxies in the years to come. In further evidence of the mystic tendencies in women we find in Germany immediately before the Reformation several distinctly mystic orders composed exclusively of women, and conducted separately from similar orders made up of men.

Outside of the monastic orders, and possible because of their growth and example, celibacy was to make steady headway as a requirement for priest and clerk. It was advocated so early as the end of the third century for all clerks, and while priests already married could keep their wives, bishops must be celibate—although exceptions may be found to this rule even at a later date. No man ordained a priest could enter into marriage. And in due time (by the middle of the twelfth century) the Church reached its final goal of imposing celibacy upon the secular and regular clergy as an absolute rule. The voluntary celibacy which had simply conferred an added merit on him who practiced it, arising in an inner choice, was thus displaced by a fixed routine—with results to appear with the lapse of time.

The effect of the ideal of celibacy was not confined, however, to the Church itself and its religious orders. It was felt in the field of civil law, as for example in the enactments of the Christian Emperors, as well as in the

subtler field of love itself, in its psychic aspects (which we shall consider later). We have already noted a celibacy in Roman life resulting not from any spiritual ideal but from the decadence of normal motives, and legislated against there as formerly in Greece. Through the influence of the Christian teaching the penalties attached to this type of celibacy among the Roman people were finally removed—an act which tended to lift the stigma from childless marriage, leaving to other forces the correction of a race-suicide resulting from the pursuit of pleasure and degeneration.

In conclusion it may be said of celibacy in its higher aspects, that is, celibacy seen as a genuine effort to solve the contradiction between the purest spiritual intimations and the worldly life, that it had this fault, in its expression as a monastic system: it sought to achieve its ends by an objective program, one which could exist quite independently of inner grace. This program also, as one of avoidance, left unsolved for its devotees the inevitable problems of human life, removing at the same time the mighty disciplines which lead possibly to a higher level than that which can be assumed abstractly at a single bound. The contribution of asceticism to Christian civilization was a mighty one, none the less. If it involved an error in the attack of man on actual life it was at least a noble error, one springing from an effort on man's part to attain the highest ideal of good and to pay the price. Even though this system was to drop into the very pitfall it had tried most to escape—to prove in due time “human-all-too-human”—it had exhibited to the world, it had actually enacted, a life for men and women which tended to deliver them from their long bondage to patriarchal sex-tradition. Man was no longer seen primarily as the father of a human family to be perpetuated at any cost: woman was no longer conceived as the progenitor of

children and nothing else. Freed from the emphasis of sex-characteristics, the two stand forth, at least for happy moments, as human beings—even to Paul, who, through a lift of vision, could declare that there existed neither male nor female among those who had “put on Christ.”

In a following chapter we shall attempt to follow the work of the Church in its struggle to conform the natural daily habit, the life of the vast majority of human beings, to the Christian pattern. While there is an immense difference between the monastic system and the Church itself, for all their common root, they were at one in this, that they placed a profound faith in an external, or objective program.

CHAPTER XII

THE CHURCH AND CANON LAW

IN the procedure of casting Christianity into some sort of official or visible form the first and most pressing problem was how to adjust its relation to the tradition of the Jews, from whom the followers of the Messiah had at the outset no possible instinct of separation. Was not this Jesus the anticipated Christ—to be known to all in due time, as to the illuminated few—the promised Saviour of Isaiah and the Hebrew prophets, the very climax of the religious history of the “chosen people”? But Jesus himself had predicted to his disciples with his unfalteringly literal vision: “They shall put you out of the synagogues.” And this prophecy began to enter more and more sharply into fulfilment as the Christian movement gathered voltage, and especially as it betrayed more and more its essentially universal rather than limitedly national character. The Jewish instinct back of the crucifixion was asserting itself more and more drastically in all localities, so that it was not long before the unconverted Jew stood forth everywhere as the Christian’s most bitter adversary.

It is at this point that the student of social institutions must take cognizance of a great divide in the affairs of men. On the one side of this salient line may be noted the firm continuance of Judaism as permanently formulated by the Pharisaic party, whose opposition to the Christian dispensation (together with that of the official priesthood) finally results in a complete separation between Jew and Christian. In other words the separatist instinct hales primarily from the Jew himself rather than those first

known as Nazarenes, so that a distinct Christian organization is due at least in part to Jewish acts of expulsion and persecution. With the dissenting Christian sect expelled, the Jew of orthodoxy continues to direct his gaze to a hoped-for national Messiah, and the scribes continue to formulate a more and more technical narrow code in order to secure their faith in an elaborate letter.

The Christian, on the other hand, stimulated to fuller and more universal vision by his Jewish excommunication, rapidly conceives himself as one freed from the Jewish letter, a man not bound to superimpose his new life upon old tradition. We have as valiant pioneers at this point Paul and Peter, the final break between Jew and Christian being completed by their abandonment of circumcision. The convert may now become a Christian directly without becoming first a Jew. The Christian assemblies are from now on entirely distinct, to be found at first in private houses. Meanwhile the Jew, identified dramatically enough with the Christ he has denied, is to witness the complete destruction of the cherished temple at Jerusalem (70 A.D.) together with the most terrible punishment and devastation at the hands of the Romans. This punishment, aimed at the Christians whose detachment is not yet popularly grasped, is precipitated by an aggressive and not entirely typical Jewish party; but the consequent fatality affects the entire people, who, at this point, through destruction and dispersion, are driven permanently from the world's map as a nation.

From this point on, from the standpoint of the family, we have the continuance of an old and the beginning of a new tradition. We see among the Jews the maintenance, the more exact formulation, of the Jewish domestic ideals with which we have become familiar, to be conserved practically without change among the orthodox in a wide variety of circumstances and through the stretch of

centuries leading up to and including modern times. This remarkable fixity is accomplished through the perfection and elaboration of Jewish domestic codes in the form of the Talmud, the sacred book which is to take the place of the ruined temple in Hebrew religious life, and indeed of the vanished nation itself, regulating the inner affairs of this homeless people with the utmost precision and supplying under various governments and among various races a code of domestic and civil conduct conformed to Jewish tradition. In this strange existence upon which the Jews are now forced to enter, the family unit, always strong because of its patriarchal type, takes on added emphasis because of the dissolution of national ties, and also because of the forced segregation of the Jews resulting everywhere from Gentile persecutions—a segregation further supported by their own strict rule of endogamy forbidding marriage between Jew and Gentile. Through devout adherence to these standards the Jews are destined to become the conservators, in modern civilization, of the ancient patriarchal family, a human group united primarily by blood-ties, as in earlier periods, and practically independent of the territorial nation.

Meanwhile among the Christians, whose assemblies are multiplying by leaps and bounds, a development of local rules for the discipline of members is laying the foundation for a canon law nearly as detailed as that of the Jews themselves. During this period of formulation, "silence in the churches" having been enjoined upon all women, we may note the rise of a body of church fathers who are to assume a more and more complete control of Christian conduct. Before the end of the second century in Greece and Asia these fathers begin to adopt the habit of regularly gathering together in provincial synods for the consideration of knotty problems—a custom spreading rapidly throughout the Christian world. These synods, made up

officially of bishops, (the great church hierarchy in embryo) are also attended by a few distinguished presbyters (representatives rather of the country than the city), and by a body of lay members allowed to listen to proceedings. It is the enactments of these councils which are first styled "canons," and which as "collections" are finally to be assembled as the basis for a Canon Law binding throughout the Christian world. Of these collections the most important were the Greek (itself a compilation of Asiatic origin), and an African collection of even earlier date.

It is thus the case, significantly enough, that the beginnings of the Canon Law destined to dominate all Western civilization are traceable to Eastern groups, partly because of their closer contact with the first Christian teachers, partly because of their greater number and preëminence in the first Christian councils—as shown for example in the enormous preponderance of Eastern bishops at the first council called by Constantine, the first Christian emperor, whose conversion was to usher in the identification of church and state. The Western bishops at this council are reported to have numbered only six out of a total of three hundred, a situation leaving the rank of woman very much at the mercy of Eastern standards and partly accounting for the depression of her status below that of pre-Christian Rome, as well as her complete exclusion from official part in the great church in process of organization.

It was nevertheless a Western rather than an Eastern church which was to crown Canon Law with its capital letters, although the very leadership of Rome, reasserted as the somewhat mysterious rise to primacy of the Roman bishop, was subject at this time to marked Oriental influence. It was not only the moving of the capital to Byzantium by Constantine which indicated the way the imperial wind was blowing. Before this Diocletian had

swung the imperial center eastward by electing to reside less in Rome than in Asia Minor, the better to direct maneuvers against his Persian enemies. An effect of this move was the orientalizing of the former vigorously Western empire, for Diocletian, like Alexander, was highly affected by his Eastern contacts, encouraging the worship of himself as a god, adopting the typically Eastern title of "The Invincible Sun," taking to himself the peculiarly gorgeous and bejewelled costume of the Persian kings, and meanwhile depriving the Roman Senate of all but municipal powers.

It was thus an Oriental despot with diadem, throne and footstool who (by the strangest irony) was to serve as model for the new Christian leader, vicar of Christ on earth. So that the Roman bishop, gathering authority in the partially deserted capital and supported there by an imperial tradition, is to take on a veritably Asiatic splendor. Undaunted by the official prestige of Constantinople, the Emperor's new city, or by the calling of the first great Christian council at Nicaea, (in confirmation of the Eastern center), old Rome asserts once more her mighty talent for administration. Prerequisite to the establishment of an authentic Christian code is the emergence of a mother church; and behold the ascent of the Roman see to a position of unique importance in the Christian realm, all other sees, (with the exception of Constantinople), falling into subordination. We may now witness the casting of the local rules and statutes of the diverse Christian churches, together with papal decretals, into one mighty compilation—a code to which all Christendom (aside from Constantinople) is to bend the knee.

The Canon Law thus constituted—rich in a social and human interest not attached to mere dogmatic definitions—is designed to cover practically the entire field of human

conduct, and is thus a document of the first importance to the student of domestic life, setting the official standard for family behavior up to the time of the Reformation and beyond that time for the immense body of Roman Catholics still holding to the Roman Church. Subjected to repeated modifications by Church councils, carrying forward through the centuries an enormous mass of discrepancies and contradictions, it yet preserves a series of absolute conceptions which have resisted progress, and which as a single system imposed upon diverse peoples, laid the foundations for a homogeneous culture in Western Europe. Moreover this system must be seen as supplying the frame-work of civil law as pertaining to domestic matters even with Protestant nations, which appear as interesting examples of conformity to, as well as departure from, its tenets and conventions.

Viewed as a whole, in its domestic aspects, this Law presents to the modern mind the most extraordinary picture of exacting regulation existing side by side with the most flagrant uncontrol—a mixture of authority and chaos not only baffling to the layman and to the student of society, but to the clerics of the Church itself, as evidenced in the bulky history of their debates, votes and decisions. For the mighty absolutism of the Church in the field with which we have to do was exerted in the main in three directions only, during the Middle Ages: the devising and enforcing of rules relating to marriage disabilities (arising in nearness of kinship, affinity and so on); the prevention or restraint of divorce and second marriage, and the conduct of what we would call today “courts of domestic relations.” Outside of this field of influence or area of jurisdiction there remained the entire—and most vital—procedure of contracting marriage, which continued through or nearly through the Middle Ages as a practically lay affair, when entered into with due respect to the

Church's prohibited degrees. This marriage as we shall see was not only unecclesiastical, it was not even civil, in the sense of accounting for itself to any public body by license or registration. The result was an amazingly chaotic situation of which the story will unfold itself in the following chapters; for the result pervades the history of Europe, and cannot be confined to a special and limited treatment of Canon Law as a written system, a system which tends to convey the erroneous impression of a most detailed and elaborate control of domestic matters.

Turning to the Law itself, we find that the first practical statutes touching the family problem have for their object the defining of the zone of marriage from the standpoint of kinship (suggesting the task of primitive society), and that they establish prohibited degrees of consanguinity and other types of nearness, together with an outer or endogamous line beyond which the Christian may not pass in mating. According to the statutes thus established—to be applied henceforth to the most motley army of Christian converts—the zone within which a valid marriage may be contracted is defined as follows: Marriage between first cousins, and between second cousins, is forbidden, a prohibition finally extended to cover marriage within the seventh degree of consanguinity, although this was relaxed somewhat later to include only those within the fourth degree. There is beyond this a prohibition upon the marriage of those related by "affinity" (to the fourth degree) or—in the American vernacular—between a married partner and his "in-laws," as for example between a man and his deceased wife's sister, a similar kind of affinity being also accepted as prohibitory in the case of illicit relations, although the objection is understood to cover the second degree only in this latter case. Another relation brought under the same prohibition is the "spiritual relationship" between the child and one stand-

ing with his parents as sponsor for him in confirmation—a somewhat shadowy discrimination but one in keeping with the minute distinctions of Canon Law. As to the limit of remoteness, the outer or endogamous line beyond which the Christian may not pass in the taking of a partner is the line of his religion, involving the prohibition of his marriage with an infidel, or one unbaptized. Just as Athenians had been obliged to marry Athenians, and Jews were required to marry Jews, so Christians must marry Christians. There is thus established for the entire body of Christian peoples a belt outside of which a contracted marriage is penalized by annulment, or the excommunication of the parties to it, or by both.

As to the nuptial ceremony, it is conceived as we have already indicated as a private or family matter, in continuance of Roman and barbarian custom, and in conformity with the original Christian conception of wedlock as a temporal affair. We may note nevertheless the increasing importance attached to the simple benediction, which is to ultimate in due time in a regular bride-mass. During the first four centuries the ceremony of marriage is commonly performed in the home of the bride; between the fourth and tenth centuries it is advanced to the Church door—in which procedure the trend of history is rendered more than usually graphic. It is interesting to note how long society pauses at the threshold of ecclesiastical marriage before it becomes an accomplished fact, and how drastic at this point are the social changes associated with these standards and manipulations.

Passing from the ritual of marriage to the statute immediately determining the status of married partners, we discover that the Church has declared itself on this one point in fine independence of Oriental and even of Pagan influence. Reflecting early Christian motives and the western trend of Roman jurisprudence, the law just

here boldly opposes itself to the double standard of morality which has so long prevailed in man-governed civilizations. It proclaims a single standard for men and women. Breaking with the typical tenets and customs of the patriarchate as we have known them hitherto, particularly in the East, it defines marriage as a life-long union between one man and one woman, equally binding upon them both. With regard to infidelity there is no respect of persons. One code exists for the two married partners, with no exemptions, no special privilege. Adultery is equally wrong for both man and wife—punishable in both cases by excommunication. Slaves are protected in their unions against the claims of masters. Concubines are forbidden. In brief, the Church has standardized a literal monogamy, implying the withdrawal of man's age-old license. Here is a nobler social order: at least so it appears in the written statutes of Canon Law.

But just as it was impossible, as Lincoln saw it, for a people long to continue half slave, half free, so it was impossible to give force at the same time to statutes at once affirming, and denying, the equality of men and women. Woman could not appear in the same law-book as man's inferior and also as his peer—at least it was impossible for her to project into actual life these conflicting poses. She could not live in a frankly reciprocal relation with one to whom she was commanded, in another breath, to be submissive. And this was precisely her predicament, according to the score written for her in the Canonical regulations. For we pass immediately from the invigorating definition of her marital status as given above, to the Pauline tenet, subjection to her husband being enjoined upon her in the most specific terms—in a rule so fixed, indeed, that it is to be found practically without change in the twelfth century collection of Canon Law compiled by Gratian, and again (to complete the

case of absolutism as opposed to progress), in the nineteenth century encyclical of Pope Leo XIII: "The wife is to be submissive to her husband"; and again, "The husband is ruler of the family and head of his wife."

Substantial equity in the marital relation was not to be hoped for, then, with woman's personal status permanently fixed at a point of submission to masculine-kind—a submission or implied inferiority extending into all avenues of mutual life. "It is prohibited to any woman" (runs the Canonical decree) "to presume to approach the altar or minister to the priest"; and again, "A woman is incapable of true spiritual jurisdiction." Of singers we read in a further section that they have "a real liturgical office, therefore women, as being incapable of exercising such office, cannot be permitted to form part of the choir or of the musical chapel." Excluded thus from the higher harmonies of the world of men (to clothe the matter in poetic terms) they were equally unworthy according to the tenets of Canon Law to participate in mundane affairs: "Women are ineligible to all civil and public offices, and therefore they cannot be judges, nor hold a magistracy, nor act as lawyers, judicial intercessors or procurators." A further and interesting protection of the prerogatives of men is that women were not allowed to wear male attire or to cut their hair, the latter to be retained as a specific "badge of subjection."

Under the pressure of such disabilities as all of these the marriage contract was in actual practice a very different agreement from that which it appeared to be on paper, and such was even more strikingly the case with respect to the matter of its dissolution. Ideally and on paper marriage was an indissoluble and life-long union, whereas in reality it was an easily and continually evaded contract, with the result that the family of the Middle Ages was hardly more stable than it is today, although

it was by a different set of devices in this period that human nature achieved its will. Outright divorce, admitting of the remarriage of either partner, was utterly forbidden, as it is still forbidden in the Roman Catholic Church today; but an indissoluble union was not thereby established, for there developed at least fourteen cases in which a marriage once contracted could be declared null and void. In this event the partners thus released were entirely free to enter a new alliance, so that annulment and not divorce became the objective of those desiring to escape an irksome bond. Indeed annulment may be simply classified as the divorce of the Middle Ages. Needless to say, the status of woman being what it was, annulment of this character was a medium of adjustment resorted to by men, having none of the character of present-day divorce in the sense of redress for women. A determinate or indeterminate separation from "bed and board" was obtainable in the event of adultery or even excessive cruelty, but no absolute divorce, under its name, existed (except by special dispensation), with the result that there developed an immense adroitness in obtaining the practical benefits of divorce by fraud. This process was made easy by the enormous elaborateness of the law defining a valid marriage, the minutiae of the regulations offering a rich field for the discovery of "diriment impediments" after the marriage ceremony.

Among these "diriment impediments" constituted by the Church and empowering it to dissolve a marriage absolutely were impuberty, impotency, disparity of worship, defect of consent, consanguinity, affinity and spiritual relationship—the latter three proving an especially prolific group, further expanded by a ruling which permitted the Church (probably hard-pressed by princes) to add impediments not listed as touching blood-relation-

ships. All of these counts were divided and subdivided so as to lend themselves to the most subtle and specious mental processes; as for example when adultery and fornication were stretched to include such mental departures from spiritual grace as idolatry, avarice and superstition. The powerful and rich were especially able (as ever) to pervert laws to their ends, so that the most interesting examples of annulment of the character described may be found in the life of kings—as for example, the instance of Louis XII, who having fallen in love with a woman other than his wife, discovered that the latter was not his partner by a valid marriage, being his fourth cousin, deformed, and “spiritually” related to him through the fact that her father had been his godfather. The marriage was annulled (by papal dispensation), the legitimate wife dismissed.

In addition to the diriment impediments based on relationship already noted, there existed another particularly adapted to specious uses in the form of “previous verbal contract,” an impediment pointing to the scholastic dogma which declared that mere consent secretly expressed in words of the present tense constituted a valid marriage. In this case an easy juggling of “I will” as pointing to the future and the “I do” of the present usher in a period of quibbling in which the structural lines of marriage,—for all the apparent precision of Canon Law—are nearly lost. As a result of this technicality (marking the impotence of the Church in the field of law-enforcement), a private or secret agreement based on “I do”—without ceremony, record or witness—could be suddenly advanced as grounds for the annulment of a marriage entered into with all possible form and ceremony; and by the same token an agreement of this character, unwitnessed, might be entirely suppressed to admit of another marriage, since it could be interpreted

as differing in no practical way from the most casual liaison.

The advantage of all these manipulations accrued primarily (as a matter of course) to men, as opposed to women, and beyond this to the ruling or aristocratic class, in which connection should be cited the position of the Church on morganatic marriage—a further extension of its habit of modifying its most emphatic rules in the case of princes. The following excerpt from the Catholic encyclopædia presents a ruling still in force today, and expressive of the ancient union between church and state, with its long history of diplomacy and exchange of favors: “When a prince or a member of a ruling house weds a woman of inferior rank, especially if her family is plebeian, the marriage is generally known as a morganatic marriage. In this case it is as valid and licit before the Church as any other lawful marriage”—(a statement followed by reference to certain civil disabilities in the children born of such wedlock as contrasted with “direct heirs”).

This is but one of an enormous number of situations regularized by special acts, or “dispensations,” in accordance with a code of ethics entirely foreign to the democratic or Protestant mind. These acts imply an absolute power on the part of the Church acting through pope and clergy to create or justify exceptions, to sanction by authority conditions entirely at variance with statutory law—and law as established by the Church itself. Exceptions of this character thus handled are an integral part of its operative system. Prevailing especially in the field of the annulment of marriage contracts, they cover also such cases as that of illegitimate birth, in connection with which the psychology of the Church is typical. In addition to the legitimization of birth in a strictly logical manner by the subsequent marriage of the parents there

were three official "cures" capable of correcting or partially correcting this "defect." These were a "rescript" of the Pope, making the status of the individual lawful for Church purposes (within restrictions); religious profession in an approved order, and dispensation for a particular office, granted by the Pope himself in connection with the highest dignities, by bishops and prelates upon lower levels. Another instance in this general field is the giving validity to a mixed marriage through a general dispensation based on a guarantee with respect to the religious upbringing of the children born.

The enormously numerous cases arising in connection with the above Canonical regulations and suggested by these examples were decided for centuries in courts provided by Canon Law for that purpose, so that the modern who sees in the occasional courts of domestic relations found in our larger cities a novelty and an innovation has neglected his church history. These matrimonial courts of the Middle Ages were to be found in every diocese presided over by a bishop, and to these courts were brought for trial all cases depending upon what was classified as a "public impediment." In cases of supposed "hidden or occult" impediment strict secrecy was observed—(a system of which the possibilities are too obvious to need pointing out). Appeal from these lower courts could be made to the Holy See, where decisions were final if approved by the Holy Father.

In connection with this system of domestic courts and penetrating even more deeply into the heart of family affairs should be mentioned the confessional, enabling the priest to exercise then as today the most intimate jurisdiction over domestic life, and particularly the affairs of women. Here as throughout the system the entire appraisal and guidance of woman's conduct is in the hands of men, from whom there is no appeal at any

point to the attitudes of women. Through a system of amends for questionable conduct in the form of penitential acts the Church is again seen in the exercise of an absolute power, and one displacing individual conscience. The absolution pronounced by the priest in the confessional, the communicant having met the prescribed conditions of repentance, confession and sacrificial acts, ensures his release from guilt and punishment—a release repeatedly secured through money payments and various modes other than those originally prescribed, as in the case of the notorious “indulgences.” Probably the most significant function of the priest from the standpoint of the family was the encouragement of the wife in unlimited child-bearing—an exaltation of fecundity at variance with the earlier attitude, but reflecting the later more pagan tone of the Christian Church, together with its mounting ambition with respect to numbers and extent of empire.

The Church was animated, however, by a more disinterested consideration in dealing with child life. In its denunciation of infanticide and child exposure it entered into a crusade inspired by the first Christian spirit, and against the limitation of population through these barbarous customs it took an unyielding stand. The incredibly brutal tone of the patriarchate with respect to children—the immemorial practice of doing away with them and especially with girl babies at the time of birth for economic and other reasons—was now assailed. An awakened tenderness caught from the Christian teaching is increasingly reflected not only in the enactments of the Church but of civil law, which succumbs, in spite of setbacks, to this humanizing influence. The Church attempts at the same time and with equal zest if not success to stop the practice of abortion, denounced as no less criminal than the more flagrant methods of disposing of child life.

Of all these statutes and devices of administration supplying to the family of Christendom its official standard the effects are too complex, too overwhelming to be summed up in a brief conclusion. They must be left instead to unfold themselves, scroll-wise, in the life of Europe. We have seen established in the main, and in spite of hopeful gestures, a family of historic pattern, one destined to impose on the fresher racial stock of Europe an old convention. We have seen at the same time a prompt and powerful masculinization of the Christian principle expressed in Church and written code, mankind (in the literal sense) becoming from this point on the official custodian of Christian values. Nevertheless the Church has taken an incalculable risk: it has poured into the old bottle of the patriarchate something of the new wine of spirit—certain of the effects of which we shall attempt to trace in a following chapter.

CHAPTER XIII

THE RISE OF ROMANTIC LOVE

THE towering Church of the Middle Ages with its Canon Law may be seen as the most imposing enterprise in history having for its object the control of society by an authoritarian or coercive plan. Here is the institutional principle incarnate, richly supported by the soaring beauty of architecture, art and music; making an almost incalculable appeal to the man of emotion and imagination, subduing hosts of human beings to its elaborate and detailed code of conduct. And yet there is no more remarkable sight than the impotence of this tremendous organ of regulation in the face of fluid human nature, under the impact of which the machinery shifts and breaks in surprising ways. This fluidity, this ungovernable flux, is not entirely evil as we shall see, but it introduces into the Middle Ages strangely confusing currents, so that it is not easy at any moment to distinguish between conflicting motives. And these to be felt and comprehended must be seen as not eternally and wholly related to the great Church perspective. There is the blue sky overhead, as well as the Church vault. There is man himself—neither submissive nor evasive, but blithe, spontaneous, resilient: not to be entirely defined at any time by systems.

This fact of history, this truth of every period, is charmingly illustrated in the Provençal poets, who immediately remind the pedantic student, of puckered brow, that official documents, papers of Church and state, are not the whole of man. We must see him as the troubadour and lover, as well as pope, priest, king. Wo-

man must be perceived as the lady of Mediæval lyrics, poised for a moment beyond the fixed circle of her marital rôle, the law's confining tenets. Looking into the Middle Ages from this standpoint, and with this fresher gaze, we shall discover that one of the most significant developments of the period is the rise of romantic love, that love destined to play such an important part in modern civilization. We shall see it here as something in the way of a new essence, drawn from chivalric life and visibly touched by the Christian spirit,—at the same time sensuous, faulty, often enough illicit, beyond this, stilted and theatrical; but marking nevertheless a most valid step of progress in the life of men and women.

This love is seen to emerge from Mediæval shadows with the quality of springtime, it has the gaiety of youth, it drops the burden of a distinction between good and evil. "Come, Sir Troubadour," cry a group of pleasure-lovers after the delights of a banquet, "the nightingales have not yet been shamed into silence, it appears. Take your viol and show them what music is like when sweet sounds are interpreted with sweeter words." The "sweet sounds" and "sweet words" which follow are, it is true, a series of light and excessively sentimental tributes to the lady of the hour, but woman has waited long even for such flowery and conventional tributes as these (though earlier poets have struck the note) and they must be seen as embodying an attitude, a refined mental factor which is at least a footstep in the direction of modern love, as compared with the extremely objective, almost utilitarian eroticism of classic life.

This new love, so light, so buoyant, is obviously enough a reaction upon the asceticism or mortification of the natural passions so long exalted as the highest Christian ideal, yet it is a love which has been conditioned by the

very disciplines it now escapes (as we shall see). Its immediate movement, however, is one of blithe and unconscious emancipation from these ascetic values, from the characteristic denial of life admirably voiced by the Spanish monk who declared that the soul was to turn—

Not to what is most easy, but to what is hardest,
 Not to what tastes best, but to what is most distasteful;
 Not to what pleases but to what disgusts;
 Not to rest but to labor—

Not to seek the best of everything, but to seek the worst, so that you may enter . . . into a complete destitution, a perfect poverty of spirit, . . . an absolute renunciation of everything in this world.—(A Puritanic program with an iron temper not unknown to earlier New England.)

Songs like the following, however, were beginning to appear under the sunny skies of southern France—an enormous system of nunneries and monasteries and a mighty Mediæval church to the contrary notwithstanding:

In gladness let a man arise,
 In gladness pray with heavenward eyes;
 In gladness let his form be dressed
 In clothes the goodliest and the best;
 In gladness let him tell his tale,
 Or hear what others would unveil,
 With joy and gladness don and wear
 A comely mantle new and fair,
 With gladness mount and ride all day
 To meet and drive the foe away,
 With gladness go for lawful gain,
 With gladness turn toward home again;
 For joy and cheer from morn till night
 Prolong one's life and make it light.

Especially in southern Europe after the long repression and twilight of the earlier Middle Ages there was a very

general bubbling up of poetry and song, of which the theme was primarily—and finally—the love of man and woman. This poetry, itself a return to nature of the sort repeatedly reviving the arts when they are about to perish in dead convention, is full of birds and blossoms and leafy trees, as well as the amorous affairs of human beings. It abounds in that delight in May and in “Aprille” immortalized for the English-speaking world by Chaucer, and appearing everywhere in the plastic native dialects displacing formal Latin as a literary medium. Such bits as the following gracefully preserve the Provençal spirit, the spirit of the time, which, for all its apparent lack of depth, was making for a remarkable psychological release in the society of Christian Europe.

How fair appears the eglantine
 When all the birds again outpour
 Sweet songs of joy as true as mine,
 Because the world is green once more;
 Because fair blossoms hide the boughs
 With red and yellow, green and blue.

And again:

Fair days and sweet and rich in love
 Are these when verdure springs anew,
 And light of step and blithe I view
 With gladness every opening flower,
 And sing of love with hopefulness and cheer;
 For morn or eve no care of thought comes near
 Save thoughts of love my joyous bosom thronging.

These poems (which are legion), of slight poetic value, must not be separated from their dramatic setting, sung as they were by wandering minstrels in the halls of Mediæval castles, where they were addressed especially to the ear of the feudal lady. Here in the isolated feudal

group these poem-songs were taking the place of books and plays, of history, of current news, and they were forming the connecting links of a social company developing in the most interesting and novel ways with respect to the relations between men and women. Indeed we are at the threshold just here of a society which for the first time in European history makes room for the two together, a society not dominantly or completely masculine, as in the case of Greece and Rome, as among the Jews, as everywhere in contemporary Asia, but partially feminine; actually conditioned by a feminine ideal.

But it is only possible to understand this new turn of affairs, this change of key, in the light of the new racial factors which, following the fall of Rome, were to exert an influence on Western civilization equal perhaps to that of the ruling Church. This Church, as we have seen, was the great agent in carrying forward the traditions of antiquity—of the Hebrew, Greek and Roman peoples, of Asia in a larger sense; in short, of a perfected masculine civilization, expressed in art, in law, in social values. It spoke in reality an old tongue rather than a new one (referred to somewhat mystically by the early Christians), a seasoned and admirably articulated language but one which seemed in due time rather to obscure than to express the Christian message.

On the other hand the northern tide of Teutons which had threatened and finally engulfed the older order from the racial standpoint—this Barbarian host had the quality of youth. It was true indeed that these tall and fair-haired conquerors had learned much of the military Romans in repeated contact with them. Numbers of them in fact were actually incorporated in the Roman army. The Barbarian, however, as fairly judged by the test of battle, had proven himself the better man, and the racial stamina which made this possible was likely to persist

in strong demarkations not to be lost in the composite civilization now in the making. In the first place may be mentioned the virile Nordic stock itself, a stock which was from this time on to hold its place in the vanguard of progress. Further, the customs and traditions of these invading peoples were of an early cultural stage—probably that of such tribes among the American Indians as the Iroquois or Six Nations.

True to this period of their social evolution, possibly also because of their northern temper, as we have already hinted, the status of women among these Barbarians now advancing to a conspicuous position in world history was relatively high—as attested to by Tacitus in his familiar comment. Putting together such items as may be secured from the Roman historian, from Cæsar and other observers of Teutonic custom, we find this rank of woman supported by vestiges of a maternal phase of tribal organization, at least transitional customs. Descent, for example, was reckoned through both the mother and father clan or “sippe,” the wife continued her membership in her own sippe after marriage, and many of the northern sagas contain stories of married women who in quarrels with their husbands leaned upon their kinsmen for support. It is a point of general interest that the exchange of promises or “gages” between the two groups of kindred at the time of marriage was originally described by the word for wedding, in its sense of wed-gage or pledge. The “morning gift” was a present from the groom to the bride herself. On the whole we note an absence of the tone of masculine superiority or contempt for woman habitually accompanying full-blown father-rule. Moreover the attitude toward woman is relatively chaste, and beyond this there is a recognition of mystic wisdom in her, a recognition especially pertinent to the chapter in hand, and significantly related to Christianity

in its distinctly spiritual as contrasted with its institutional aspects.

In the history of woman, then, the Nordic peoples are evidently destined to pick up the lost clue of the first Christian centuries, and to make possible the growth of a new sentiment in the sex-relation. For while the patristic writings, reflecting Asiatic attitudes, had clearly discredited the relation between man and woman, the original Christian teaching had indirectly lifted it to and sustained it on a higher plane. It had done this by reading into all love a new conception, and by actually advancing the association of men and women—at least for a short period—into a measure of unconscious freedom. Further it had displaced by a new charity the Pagan contempt for weakness, thus placing upon the strong, the fortunate, a new obligation.

It is thus evident that the age of feudalism, the evolution of knight and lady, are to be explained in part by the susceptibility of the unsophisticated Nordic peoples to the first Christian spirit, a spirit not entirely identified in their minds with the content of Canon Law. Largely conditioned by the powerful Church which bred in them the instincts of obedience and evasion, which colored their social values, they yet preserved an element peculiar to themselves and considerably at variance with the legalistic trend of the Church government and the Church mind. It was somehow from the fount of this originality that there was to come forth a decidedly new sense of the sex-relation, permanently changing the association of men and women, and ushering in the tendencies of modern custom and modern love. This trend involved the reversal of the Asiatic idea that woman was an evil influence. There was discovered in her instead an inspiration, so that she began to be seen as the source of the highest good—a conception delicately interwoven with

and in part supported by the worship of the Virgin. While this feudal and chivalric conception of woman was from the first sentimental—later to the point of theatricality in many ways—and while it never so much as touched upon that equality of men and women demanded and in part attained in the modern world, it was yet a gain in spiritual status for womankind, even though the advance just here was obscured by intrigue, license, and innumerable dishonoring customs.

This life of the Germanic people which was to cast the family into a somewhat different form and to launch a new psychology of sentiment was obviously not a life of closely settled communities or cities. The typical feudal castle, formidable and defensive, was the center of a social and domestic group living in marked isolation. In the main it was a period of wild adventure, sharp danger and dramatic projects. The natural world—in Gaul, for example, or King Arthur's Britain—was not subdued, the new society or civilization was in the making. Yet it was a period marked by a certain altruistic and refined ideal, by a zest differing from the old theme of mere territorial conquest. The Knights of King Arthur (whether a real or legendary king is at this point immaterial) were pledged to "break the heathen and uphold the Christ," "to ride abroad redressing human wrong." And one of the leading and certainly the most diverting features of this program was the protection and defense of woman. The love of woman is now conceived as the most inspiring, the most exalting motive; as one of the most potent forces "under heaven," for keeping down the base in man, for spurring him on to the attainment of noble deeds, of courtly manners. Woman is here quite evidently set in a new relation to man's achievement; delivered indeed from the stigma attached to her by the Church fathers who had continually held out to man a

warning against her sinister influence upon him. If her position was unreal, romantic, it was yet a dramatization which set forth a new set of values, serving at least to turn the tide of feminine discredit.

This lady of the feudal period is best imagined either in the great hall where she is entertaining or being entertained, or in her romantic garden. She is beautifully dressed, from the standpoint of real taste in costume, in her long "bliaut" or outer garment with its fine straight lines, her elegantly wrought girdle, and her pictorial blonde braids. The gardens with their roses, lilies, violets and pinks are frequently highly formal, so that they bring to mind the quaint illuminations of manuscripts of the day. In garden or hall she is surrounded by her maidens and dependents, and she is frequently to be found in the company of the troubadour or minnesinger who continually voices to her the worshipful and admiring attitude of her age. She is much preoccupied with the mental and emotional adventure of romantic love, which is frequently enough an imagining with respect to a remote and adoring lover. It may be called "romantic" precisely because it engages the imagination, because it is capable of sustaining itself as an adventure in the realm of mind. This opens the possibility for ideal aspects and involves a more delicate and imperative choice of one person as against another, beginning the slow and difficult history of selective love, as opposed to the motives of mere sexual attraction or convenience, the latter resulting in the arranged marriages of property and rank.

We have, then, so far as the family is concerned, a formal continuance of the old patriarchal marriages arranged by parents in support of interests entirely distinct from the emotional life; but outside of these and not entirely in the form of illicit intercourse, the development, the flowering, of a romantic or imaginative love

lifting not only the lady but the case for love itself entirely above the level of discredit on which they were to be found everywhere under a patriarchal régime. In other words the exaltation of the lady is one with the exaltation of the sentiment of love itself, which is now ranked as a most exquisite and indeed ennobling preoccupation. From now on the word "love" is separated, at least to a degree, from fleshly implications. It is selective, worshipful, and frequently remote; a kind of adoration not to be confounded with mere desire, or to be conceived as a mere approach to the satisfaction of natural impulse. A certain poetic differentiation between its motif and the trend of lust is indeed its pride, its delicate thought-shades being suggested by the word "minnesinger" which points, in its root significance, to the area of thought, of sentiment, of meditation, to be celebrated now in song, rather than the crasser Pagan themes.

This love at the outset is exclusively confined to the levels of aristocratic life where it finds its center in the lady, and where it is destined especially to flourish in the absence of her lord who is drawn away by his feuds and wars, as well as by the more overwhelming enterprise of the crusades. In this isolation the lady is not entirely given over, however, to romance. Like other war-deserted women she exhibits an executive ability in the management of her estates and other matters which advances her beyond the parasitic stage, and helps enormously to dispose of that psychology of inferiority almost unavoidable with her faculties fallen into disuse. Yet the Mediæval lady has never suffered the indignities and exclusions of the Greek wife. The very construction of the feudal stronghold with its famous single hall implies a society to be participated in at all times by both men and women. In this hall may be seen the massive curtained bed itself belonging to the lord and lady, so

that there is no privacy, no sequestration of womankind. Here is one human life, whatever its character may be, a distinct departure from the two modes of life fostered in previous types of culture. And the new society in question not only admits of woman's presence; it is a society presided over more often than not by the feminine sex, to whose ear (as we have seen) the songs and poems of the hour are commonly addressed.

Further, in accounting for this new psychology which bids fair to displace that bred by the patriarchate and supported by the Church, we must bear in mind the importance and influence of the celibate life for women. For the first time in patriarchal history woman is able to make a dignified choice between marrying and not marrying; her emotional life is thus in part redeemed from the compulsion of the arranged and loveless marriage. This may be seen as supporting, even in the married state, a keener sense of selective love, not usually as determining marriage—for this was to require centuries of evolution—but coexisting with it. It was *à la mode* for man and woman alike to sustain a romantic love-relation to some other chosen person; and while as might be expected illicit relations were widespread, they were not the invariable accompaniment of this new love, which attempted to display a most ideal aspect. Further this love implied a consciousness of individual woman fostered by her capacity to lead successfully and even with distinction the celibate life, a life which as we have already suggested, released rather than confined her talents.

But we have here something beyond the upwelling of a new emotion. One of the most interesting and significant developments of this period is the conscious definition and culture of the very romantic life whose redeeming quality would seem at first its spontaneity. That it is

not spontaneous, but considered, is further proof of its ideal, or partially ideal motif—a motif needing any support which may be forthcoming, in view of the easy identification of the new type of attraction with the old phenomena of extra-marital love as observable in all civilizations. This study and formulation of the art of love is in reality a civilizing of the war-making barbarian man at the hands of woman, although, given the new adventure, he is as engrossed as she and possibly more active in this half-whimsical work of codification. Aside from the whimsicality, there exists the very serious fact that a society is being deliberately formulated which prepares from the beginning for the social co-existence of men and women, and attempts to provide for that relation.

While the Courts of Love of which we read are probably fictitious it is to the point that they have had existence in idea, if not in fact, and if they did not actually try the perplexing cases of which we read reports, there was really wrought out in experience, at the point of interest and discussion, a kind of amorous doctrine and system of deportment. Questions were trivially and even tediously debated touching the things of sentiment, and yet it was a circumstance not to be lightly valued that love should have been advanced to this point of consideration—after its age-old identification with instincts sufficiently low to invite contempt, and to be a matter either for silence or for ribald jest.

Which is better (runs one of these Mediæval questions), to win a lady by skill or boldness?

Which ought a lady to prefer, the man who avows his love, or the man who dares not avow it?

Which is the greater incentive to noble deeds, love or one's own powers?

Which are the greater—the joys or the ills of love?

Among these questions and protestations probably the most delicate expression of Mediæval ideality foreshadowing the modern ideal still in travail, is the declaration that treason to love consists in bestowing it for any reason save love alone.

But the feudal period is not to be understood in terms of its isolated local units, significant as these are in the evolution of social life. It must be seen at the same time in the light of what has been called "Chivalry's great offensive," the Crusades. This movement stood specifically for the attempt of Christian civilization, acting as a unit, to wrest the Holy Land from Mahometan control, and aside from its religious motive the enterprise undoubtedly held out an appeal thoroughly adventurous, romantic, human, providing escapes as well as opportunities, and offering to the isolated feudal units something equivalent to the life of cities in the way of vivacious interchange, the stimulus of mass activity. Following these latter themes it is comparatively easy (as is often done) to divest this mighty movement of the religious meaning which in its time and place was understood to be its chief significance; yet there could be no more serious falsification of its leading motive. Its perfectly simple and naïve intent—the resistance of the encroachments of the "infidel" by Christian knights—must be seen finally as the most profound and only adequate explanation of the vastness and ardor of this unusual historic enterprise. And it is precisely this motive and not any other which must be made clear in its major relation to the destiny of womankind.

For the slow extrication of European from Asiatic culture must not be forgotten as a major movement, a drama of many episodes of which this last, the Crusades, is the most picturesque and perhaps most culturally decisive. It is not necessary to recall here the long

struggles and tensions of the Mediterranean frontier, in which the new Christian civilization of Western Europe is called upon to prove its mettle as against that of Moslem culture, also new and standing for an energized and aggressive Asia. The main line of Christendom is defended, although Spain in the West is very nearly lost to the Moslem host and permanently modified by the dusky blood of the Moors. In the East the strategically located city of Constantinople is forfeited to Christendom, a Turkish triumph which serves to keep alive on a European border a picture of Mahometan institutions. On the whole the two cultures have been permanently separated by the sword, and it is important to see the distinction thus established in terms of the life of women.

Of chivalric Europe, with all its discrepancies, faults and genuine values, we have attempted a brief sketch in the preceding pages. As contrasted with this rising Christian civilization we may note, especially as exemplified in Turkish institutions, the customs and practices of Moslem culture determining the character of family life and the rank of woman. As against the monogamic Christian family (weakened but not destroyed by hypocrisy, intrigue and license) we have the Turkish harem—polygamy coupled with the familiar veiling, seclusion and social degradation of woman existing for purposes of reproduction and sex-satisfaction only. Here as throughout the extensive area dominated by the religion of Mahomet we may note the effects of a sacred and unchangeable code which allows to man four wives for his “four humors,” supplemented by concubines of unrestricted number. The keynote of the system in its religious as well as social aspects is seen in the fact that woman is deemed unfit for association with man in the paradise of the blest. While it is not possible to align against these tendencies a set of Christian customs free

from the same patriarchal temper, popular knowledge supplies the necessary data where a comparison of the systems with respect to the status of woman is in order. Mahometan culture is visibly marked in all its strongholds by the degradation of womankind.

We have then in the great Crusades of the Age of Chivalry—certainly as seen from the standpoint of woman's destiny—an important swing of culture against culture, an impressive movement hailing from a deeplying plane of cultural difference, in spite of the stimulating exchange and interplay of more superficial values at a point of contact. By means of the Crusades the West was to learn much, as ever, from the intellectual East; but with respect to vital values it had fought out its independence, thenceforth it was to go its way alone. In spite of common factors, it had established and held successfully one of the strange and elusive but at the same time strong lines of differentiation constituting from time to time a great divide in the affairs of peoples.

"My heart laughs while I sleep" wrote a Provençal poet, that blithe spirit which restored to the Middle Ages, lost in its metaphysics, a joy in natural human life. This same note, delightfully associated with the stringed instruments and songs of troubadours and minnesingers, is to be carried into a much more brilliant and far-reaching phase in the movement which is now to reintroduce into Christian civilization the factor of Pagan learning, and to invade all fields of knowledge with its lively curiosity and exploring spirit. In this new undertaking, as we shall see in a following chapter, woman—partially released from her captivity by Christian attitudes—is to play her part.

CHAPTER XIV

THE LADY OF THE RENAISSANCE

In touching the Provençal singers of southern France we have come into contact with a poetry which is to link itself with the life of Italy and to lead casually but significantly into a movement of immense vitality and consequence—the Renaissance. At the threshold of this exceptionally rich period in the history of Europe we must ask ourselves one question and proceed within the limits thus defined: What did this rebirth of Pagan culture mean to woman, to the relation of men and women, to family life?—And not the renewal of Pagan culture alone, but the release of forces inherent in the Middle Ages, there cramped and falsified by a psychology of authority and submission, now brought into free play?

A point of the utmost interest to begin with is that the new period of culture as contrasted with the classic period from which it is understood to have derived its impetus, made room for woman. She was an appreciable figure in the life in question, she shared its ardors and was argued into its philosophy (as in the case of Platonic love), so that the new culture, resembling the Greek or animated by it at so many points, was yet strikingly differentiated from it in a most vital way. Not that the position of woman under the law was subjected to corrections. The salvation of woman at this moment lay rather in the fact that the letter of the law was no longer taken seriously in the old way. This meant for her a release from the rigor of statutes formulated almost exclusively at her expense, and in a key disparaging to her. It meant a continuance and expansion of the theme of

romantic love, but beyond this it ultimated, at least in a brilliant array of instances, in her education. This is the first time that woman has ever had the opportunity really to assimilate the culture of Greece and Rome: it is man's second opportunity. But the presence of woman—and socially accredited woman—in the bright and expanding world of conversation makes of the whole affair, even for man, a new adventure.

The change in the tone of woman as we pass from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance is that on the whole her position is less sentimental and more virile. The substantial note which now appears is undoubtedly traceable to her real and widening acquaintance with men and books, accomplished strangely enough not only through the contacts of society but the experience of the cloister. It is here that she has best demonstrated her capacity to deal with princes, to undertake the larger executive responsibilities with all that they entail. Also she has had an opportunity here for consecutive study, and she has not only read but written books. The subject of these books has frequently been erudite—even, in the amateurish Mediæval sense, scientific and historic, as in the works of Hildegard, abbess of Rupertsberg, and Gerberg, abbess of Gandersheim; for here in the cloister, as well as under the instruction of male tutors in the outside world, woman has rapidly passed out of the atmosphere of protection and mental sequestration which dulled her mind on the one hand, and rendered her on the other peculiarly subject to the enervating influence of the sex-spell.

The Renaissance then is a period of which the main currents pertain to woman, no longer insulated in a conception of femininity which has practically eliminated her from the social whole (at least this is the case with patrician woman). In the first place, as lady, woman participated at this time in the splendors of Italian

wealth, and was intimately related to the animate world of trade and commerce. And it was this trade and commerce which had much to do with kindling in Italy a revival breaking with the depressing introspection and submissive spirit of the Middle Ages. The center of civilization being still the Mediterranean sea, Italy with her thriving cities—Florence, Venice, Genoa—was the gateway of Europe. Here might have been observed the largest money transactions of the time, the biggest loans to kings. It was here that those famed captains of finance, the Medici, made historic the three balls of the pawn-shop, taken from their coat-of-arms. The Rialto of Venice, as one writer puts it, was the Wall Street of the day—the Venice whose argosies, merchants and colorful adventure attracted the imagination of a Shakespere, and it is not surprising that the enlivening experience of such traffic, such varied human contacts, should have awakened first in Italy an intellectual and artistic life destined to communicate itself to all of Europe. The contagion was the more certain because the very revival of life in this decadent center of Latin civilization was largely due to the Crusades which surged through Western Europe, sharply defining the spiritual difference between the Oriental and Western civilizations, as we have seen, at the same time bringing the two into revivifying contact. In this affair Italy stood at the strategic point, was a splendid marketplace in which the traffic in ideas was as alluring as that in the more obvious commodities which poured in from the East.

It was natural enough in such a situation that the Italians should have taken on an intellectual astuteness, a sophistication which stood forth in mellow contrast to the traits of the cruder northern peoples. It must be remembered further that the Italians themselves were now strongly Nordic, possessed of the zest of new blood, and

that they were Christian—in other words they were essentially a new people fallen heir to an old culture and an old strategic opportunity. But they were no longer spell-bound by the mighty authoritative Church in their midst—perhaps the less so that they were so intimately acquainted with its princes who were visibly “all-too-human.” At least the Mediæval inhibition was lifted from them, with the result that there appeared a splendor of expression not even rivalled in the prime of Greece. This great expressiveness especially in sculpture and in painting concerned itself to a notable degree with the Christian theme, with Bible subjects, now cast into the most beautiful and masterly art forms. It was now possible for the first time to approach such subjects as the Madonna—to paint with freedom the engrossing subject of the Holy Family. Early Italian painters had touched these themes so fearfully and with such awe and reverence that they had painted poorly (from the technician’s standpoint)—in spite of their naïve charm and earnestness. (In a sense it may be said that one does not paint well on his knees.) But while the hush of adoration which marked these early canvases is lost (with other miracles) we pass into the presence of enormous mastery and human confidence.

And this is the quality which we must trace to a degree into the life of woman—leaving undiscussed the rich developments of the Revival in the fields of navigation, of exploration, art and literature,—the expanding area of man’s compelling curiosity and interest. In the first place, as already noted, the Revival in Italy is not an affair of the humble, and as it extends itself into new spheres of influence it continues to run true to type. As the forces of the movement invade old feudal areas it is evident that they identify themselves with those lords and ladies who, in the period immediately preceding, were

concerning themselves so ardently with the problems of romantic love. It is indeed the case that knights are being changed into courtiers through the consolidation of petty states and the rise of kingdoms, (the phenomena of Europe), and that many a reigning lady has descended to the performance of some minor service to a queen. We still have to do, however, with a ruling class which is able to build up through wealth and special privilege a world of superficial glamour, and one sufficiently exempt from the exigencies of hard work to continue the indulgence of its passion for conversation.

This conversation, launched in somewhat naïve and sentimental form in the Middle Ages, is a remarkably plastic and available medium for the spirit of the Renaissance. And it is the medium of a society which has already admitted women (superficially at least) as an influence and active factor. While the academic dialogues of the Middle Ages, especially on the topic of love, were amusingly adolescent, this is not the case with the new conversation. The young men and women of this new age, if they are "fortunately" born, alert and in fashion, are educated by clever tutors. The most ambitious girls, following Italian customs, are students of the classics and several modern languages, through which knowledge they make their first stimulating inroads into literature designed for men. To the long-excluded one this was inevitably an invigorating—if not a chastening—experience, with results in the form of a license somewhat comparable to that of the present day. It is now with knowledge and erudition that the topic "love" is approached, for women have read not only Plato and Dante but Boccaccio and Petrarch. All that the feminine ideal presented of mystic unity with good had been summed up in Beatrice. Thought now leaps on to a more Pagan realism, to a human and this-worldly level.

Here in this period of growing nations, this hour of their live advance, one of the most interesting phenomena is the advent of learned and even literary queens. Among these one of the outstanding figures is Margaret of Navarre, who has read with evident zest the stories of Boccaccio, now popular among women. Entirely lacking in the reserves and modifications marking the literature designed for "home" consumption, they serve as the model for a book of tales produced by this gifted and audacious queen. Following the design of Boccaccio, Queen Margaret assembles a group of stories intended to serve as a sort of "mirror of the soul," and which do serve indeed as a lively portrait of the day, in dialogue. In the midst of her innumerable violations of reserve and taste there is the redeeming touch of humanness, and beyond this a kind of feminine courage—a something without which there is to be no future for womankind. The following is typical of Margaret at her finest, and of the Renaissance:

"I believe no man can ever love God perfectly who has not perfectly loved one of his creatures in this world."

It is no small matter that there should have been set for queens at this time an intellectual standard. Queen Elizabeth of England, that immensely witty, commanding and independent person, translates into English at fourteen one of the works of the French Margaret, and her preceptor testifies that at sixteen she spoke French and Latin with as much fluency and propriety as English. "She speaks Latin readily, justly and even critically," declares this tutor, adding the rather surprising statement: "She has often conversed with me in Greek, and with tolerable facility." The lovely Mary Stuart delivers before the French court at thirteen an oration composed in Latin. And even the Catherine de Medici of such dire reputation must be seen as one of the many women of intellect, taste and attainment in the field of culture.

In the home of the New Learning, Italy, especial mention should be made of one of the noblest figures of the Renaissance, that of Vittoria Colonna, whose name has carried popularly into our day through her distinguished relation to the great painter and sculptor, Michelangelo, in his later years. The greatest contribution of Vittoria Colonna, in common with many women, was in terms of life itself, since she was able to enact in experience the exalted rôle of love conceived by the finer minds of the day in which she lived. A woman of high birth and education, she produced several volumes of acceptable poems on amatory and religious themes, and we note a touch of fearlessness and breadth of vision in the fact that, retaining the esteem of cardinals, she yet included among her friends a number of the new Protestants who were beginning to appear in Italy as a disturbing and progressive factor.

It is less the serious, somewhat religious note of Vittoria Colonna, however, than the wit and alluring this-worldliness of Margaret of Navarre which are to carry over in the history of the lady, as she is to continue her development at royal and ducal courts. Lacking a legitimate avenue for the powers brought into play by the new and stimulating life of her time, the lady departs more and more from the mystic unity with good which marked the Mediæval ideal as brought to its consummation in the mind of Dante. A delicate accord with things divine, a mysterious something fostered in the earlier ascetic days, is gradually overwhelmed by the exuberance of the masculine world in which she is, within her marked limitations, an active factor. The social and political advance of the lady is more and more contingent on her being something less, and this is especially the case in royal circles. That the king should have his mistresses is certainly no new thing, but that they should become as notable as they do

in association with the French Louis's is a phenomenon of interest. And what is enacted in the life of the king becomes the fashion among his ministers and courtiers. Here we have in most instances not so much the working of the sex-spell as of ambition, in the case of woman; the appearance or recurrence of the will-to-power, frequently coupled with valid and really dignified ability, as in the case of Madame de Maintenon.

In other words the no-thoroughfare in which the lady finds herself is in due time made apparent, that is, the choice lies (as too commonly for her) between the career of the dull conformist and that of the brilliant outlaw. A queen by the happy accident of her position, her rare prestige, is able to make use of her all-round powers in an all-round way, displaying the inherent feminine ability for politics, administration, the handling of affairs. But when she is not a queen, if the lady is to realize the expression of her faculties (when these are great) she must proceed by indirections, or by the sacrifice of one aspect or another of her natural life. It is at this point that the social gains of woman appear to be a Parthian victory, for in many ways she is no better off than the Hetaira of Greece. In short she is politically, and socially (in the most profound sense) nowhere: she is the lady of the salon, her conversational successor, who is allowed to talk, to write, to conduct a deft relation to friends and lovers, but who, in reality, is not able to stand comparison with the shabbiest, the least witty woman voter of a later day, a valid unit in the social whole delivered (to a degree at least) from the ignominious necessity of pleasing men.

This lack of status, visible in the case of the most gifted lady—if she is not allowed to bewilder the eye with her culture, her artifice, her wit—is easily apparent in the family institution, which exhibits practically no mark of change or progress. Following the peculiarly gorgeous

processions and ceremonies of the day (where there are formal weddings) the wife of the Renaissance passes into the old unmitigated situation of obedience and dependence, except that these are perhaps a bit more difficult to enforce than once upon a time, as suggested by the sprightly Shakesperian women with their quick wit in negotiation with their spouses, their occasional temperaments none too easily tamed. In any case the husband may penalize an unruly wife very much as he sees fit, only we may find (as in English law) some restraint with respect to the size of the stick with which he beats her. On the whole there is very little either in public opinion or written statute to deter him from threats and blows, or the penalizing of his wife by a confinement indoors appropriate to a naughty child. And economically the position of the wife is much more helpless than in Roman days, since her property rights, even the right to the possession of her marriage-dower, are practically non-existent. As Blackstone later words it: "The very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during marriage, or at least incorporated and consolidated into that of her husband."

Neither has there entered into the procedure of contracting a formal marriage anything drawn from the fine feeling of the Middle Ages making for selective love. This love is still regarded as an extra-marital affair which leaves the materialism of the old transaction quite intact. Marriages are still mainly the result of parental negotiations—resting it is true on the consent of those involved, but based as ever on cold calculations with respect to social position, political preferment or financial profit, or all three at once. They are frequently entered into as a mode of paying specific debts, a practice resulting in the quite unbelievable prevalence of child-marriages, arranged by the parents for pecuniary and other gain.

Moreover the Mediæval attitude toward marriage as an inferior state, arising originally in a spiritual conception, has persisted as an influence making for the most mundane irregularity and disorder. We have as a remarkable illustration of this attitude in the early twelfth century the famous and tragic history of Abélard and Heloïse, in which the wrecking influence in the career of the rising cleric Abélard is not the illicit love-relation with his gifted student Heloïse, but his subsequent marriage with her in which he outrages the conventional ideals of his period—a period ready to accommodate itself to the prevalent moral “slips” of its churchmen, but intolerant to the point of mercilessness of their dropping to the low estate of wedlock. “The injury was the more outrageous” writes Heloïse with her self-revealing eloquence, “that all the ways of right were broken. While we were abandoned to love’s delights the divine severity spared us. When we made the forbidden lawful by marriage—the Lord’s wrath broke upon us.”

This tolerance and even fostering of irregularity on the part of the Church was obviously increased in the Renaissance by the revival of the Pagan spirit, with its sensual free-play; and it was also increased by the further enrichment and prestige of the ruling class which tended to exaggerate its sense of special privilege, its social audacities, its exemptions from common rules. The personal code of conduct appropriate to princes and entirely differentiated from that imposed upon the ordinary mortal was summed up in the malign masterpiece of Machiavelli, (of which we shall speak again), a work eloquently supporting the thesis of Nietzsche with respect to the “Genealogy of Morals.” Ethical values were at this time essentially aristocratic. The Revival of Learning, of the arts, of creative enterprise thrived naturally (for economic and other reasons) at the courts of kings; and why should a

class so happily triumphant, so accountable to no one, concern itself with moral problems, with the dreary implications of reform? The emphatic consideration, among such as these, was the avoidance of a jealous partner—the favorite theme in the romantic literature which the time brings forth. Moreover the Church had established equivalents in money for nearly every species of wrongdoing, so that those possessed of the beginnings of a conscience—or of a lively superstitious tendency—could find a way to order their affairs, however wayward.

Within the Church itself, now standing in complaisant relation to the antique culture it had once resisted, conditions had advanced from a point of license to open scandal. The celibacy of the clergy had resolved itself into a general concubinage, the monasteries were increasingly disgraced, and the princes of the Church maintained their mistresses after the manner of the kings to whom they were perpetually granting dispensations. These practices were not new, but they were very much more shameless, open and widespread than they had been before, and they contributed enormously to the demoralization of lay manners, especially among those who had been bred to find in the Church their conscience.

For if a priest be foul, on whom we truste,
No wondur is a lewid man to ruste,

runs the inevitable observation, in the words of the English Chaucer. Probably there was no more intimately disturbing abuse at this time than that of the confessional, throwing the licentious priest into easy secret contact with the lives of women. That another type of priest existed, following the footsteps of the delicately spiritual Francis of Assisi, was undoubtedly true in all places, as in England where Chaucer (in his earlier day) found not only

the loose pastor of the flock but the type of whom he was able to declare that

Christes lore and his apostles twelve
He taught, but first he followed it himselfe.

Nevertheless, institutionally speaking, the Church was badly shaken, its pages being especially darkened by that respect of persons which enabled the rich and powerful not only to enjoy their enormous license but to secure its authorization. And the family, the Church's ward, shared its demoralization.

In this exuberant scheme of things there was no redress for the peasant husband whose wife was snatched from him on the "first night" by an insolent noble—or a priest. According to this old custom with its fine names, "*Jus primae noctis*," "*droit de seigneur*," there stood out starkly an outrageous wrong as of man to man, not to mention that as yet shadowy consideration, the wrong to woman: that spiritual wrong done by the licentious aristocrat to two women, his legitimate wife and the violated bride. The serf in this situation had little occasion to admire the "courteous love" of these mighty lords who made free with his wife and daughters. He felt unquestionably the sharp twinge of class indignation, of hate not yet equipped with enough strength to spend its pent-up force in action. He was ready, nevertheless, when better men than he were to find their voices, to join them in a demand for "rights." It was not for him an age so glorious that he stood unwilling to assail it, once inspired with courage, given a leader. And among his class grievances may be listed this vital grievance of the violation of his women—one of the historic "causes" neglected as ever in conventional history, that history which continually fails to see in the sex-relation a strong motivating force.

So much for generalizations covering a period stretching in the main from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the Protestant Reformation, and beyond it in terms of the Roman Church and an upper class. Somehow beneath the vivacious surface, the more visible currents of this stretch of years, there has run another history which is now to become emphatic, visible, important. This new theme is to become articulate through the dominantly Nordic peoples, who have looked respectfully up to this time to the Latin races for their culture; who have in some ways lagged behind them but who are now to exhibit a typical Nordic verve and value, qualities continually making for a differentiation in their social history, even under the flooding influences of the Renaissance.

CHAPTER XV

THE PROTESTANT

THE Protestant movement which is to prove the dominant agitation in western Europe for two centuries—the sixteenth and seventeenth—bears with especial directness on family life, so that it is possible to approach it from this angle without in the least falsifying actual historic values. On the other hand, even in its political and religious aspects, it has so much to do with changes in the social order that its main outlines are not to be neglected, since it is to divide society into an old régime and a new, into two types of civilization defining somewhat differently the place of woman. These civilizations which begin thus to differentiate themselves—(by means of that which continues to be defined by the orthodox Catholic as a heresy)—align themselves in a way which tends to set in opposition Nordic and Latin groups. Practically all of the Catholic countries supporting the papacy are to be found within the limits of the old Roman Empire—Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, southern Germany and Austria. The countries of the Protestant group reach farther north and they are to become the exponents of a culture which has not yet had its day and which is to express itself in other than the romance tongues: the northern German states, England, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden. Interestingly enough the new movement not only localizes itself in this geographic and racial way, but also with respect to social class, passing in a sense from the atmosphere of princes (ecclesiastical and royal) into that of the “common people.”

This somewhat dramatic battle array of North as

opposed to South, of the plain people (for all their kingly leaders) as against an upper caste, is made admirably graphic in the clash between the peasant-born Luther and Pope Leo X, not only of the famous house of Medici, but son of Lorenzo the Magnificent himself. This pope, absorbed in the new art and learning of which his house has been the most celebrated patron, is rather bored than troubled by the mere "squabble of friars" reported as taking place in a northern diocese where one of his agents is trying to raise money for the remodeling of St. Peter's. It is little other than an interruption to an important and brilliant work, this protest against the sale of indulgences as carried on, perhaps with some lack of tact, by Tetzl. Pope Leo X, like all his gifted family, is possessed of a bland indifference to moral issues, coupled with a peculiarly lively ardor for and appreciation of the arts. The urbane and worldly Florentine, clasping the handful of rebellious letters sent down from the North and destined to turn the world upside down, presents a picture positively "of the theatre"—so dramatically portrayed just here is the sharp divergence of the Reformation and the Renaissance.

In the background must be imagined the bold and rugged Luther voicing the pent-up indignation of an enormous body of plain people, people who know how to work, but who are to include among their number scholars like himself as well as kingly figures. It is not necessary here to attempt to expound the psychology of the revolt, in its general character. The human being, using his mind in the simple and natural way that has been long denied him, begins to think and to assert himself. The spell of obedience once broken, there begins the dangerous and revivifying free play of the critical spirit—caught in a measure from the Renaissance, but now appearing in the form of a new spiritual independence. The Church and

Canon Law at this date will not bear this type of examination; in short, those who dare to think for themselves rise up in indignation at the Church's moral tone and program—its abuses, its debaucheries; and serenely riding over all, its limitless hypocrisy.

Luther proposes, if fire can be found, to burn the whole papal law. But to understand the full nature of this onslaught, especially in its important application to celibacy and marriage, it will be necessary to consider briefly the canonical regulation of the field in question from the tenth century to the time of Luther—a period not covered fully by the previous chapter on Canon Law and marked by the rise of the Church to the zenith of its pontifical authority in these matters.

During the first four centuries (as we have already noted) the marriage ceremony was a private or lay affair, taking place in the home of the bride, from which point the procession moved to the house of the groom. Between the fourth and tenth centuries, broadly speaking, the ceremony took place at the Church door. In the middle of the twelfth century (to proceed with the story briefly) the Church is entered, the couple kneels at the altar, there is a special bridal mass: in short, marriage has become a "sacrament"—one of the "seven sacraments," as formally stated for the first time in the "Sentences" of Peter Lombard. This definition or conception, sustained by later councils, stands for the temporary establishment in Christian civilization, and the permanent establishment among Catholic communicants, of ecclesiastical as contrasted with lay marriage.

But so simple an historic outline does not tell the story. During these several steps, this ecclesiastical advance, the subject of marriage has brought forth an almost inconceivable amount of hair-splitting analysis and Mediæval quibbling, especially during the two centuries

in which it is being most forcibly advanced to the position of "Holy Matrimony." It is none too easy to clamp a monogamic ideal upon the Christian community by external means. The result was, as we have seen, the development of an almost diabolical popular ingenuity in dealing with these externals, springing from the inveterate determination of human nature to have its will. The objective mind was thus turned adroitly against itself: it had produced elaborate tenets, and was now to evade them with the same elaboration and finesse.

Among the subjects especially inspiring this type of treatment was the matter of giving away the bride. Here there were three possibilities: the bride might be given away by her parent (the father), or a guardian (his substitute), following the Roman manner; or, following the old Germanic custom, she might give herself away (self-gifta); or as a third possibility she might be given away by the priest. We have then, in connection with this problem, three interested persons—the father, making a losing effort to defend his patriarchal power; the Church, his competitor, advancing its official scope, and the interested couple, fishing to advantage in troubled waters—meaning frequently man in pursuance of his license, but often, undoubtedly, both persons, impelled by a mutual desire and attachment.

Closely related to this question was another having to do with the two immemorial parts of the marriage process—the betrothal and the nuptials. On the one hand we have the Germanic tendency emphasizing the importance of betrothal, the act of consent, the more mental side of the affair, the contract. On the other we may note the tendency to find the basic reality of marriage in actual cohabitation—as emphasized by the Canonical authority Gratian. The first interpretation frequently resulted in the overthrow of a later and wholly formal ecclesiastical

marriage in the name of a secret agreement attested to by no witness; the second, in widespread liaisons which were actually accepted as legal ground for assuming the foregoing promise to wed. As a matter of fact the human mind found admirable ways of taking advantage of either proposition for the purpose of dissolving former marriages and securing—under the cover of Christian legality—the old pagan license.

The actual social result then, following these agitations and manipulations, was a freedom, an irregularity which practically ran away with the marital situation, the quibbling still in process. The power of the father had been so weakened that it was now possible for a couple to be married entirely without his consent; beyond this, without the consent of anyone, according to the mode accepted by the Church as “legal” but not “valid”—a procedure involving neither ceremony, registration nor witness if based on the verbal declaration “I do” and not “I will”; or even when based on a promise pointing to the future if substantiated by the “common law” association of man and wife—an association accepted as legal for exceptional reasons in modern times, but as related to institutional authority quite obviously no “law” at all.

This remarkable mode of mating—of a type to appeal to the most wayward feminist—was due in part to the persistence of Germanic tendencies lying at the base of our later individualistic civilization, partly to the fact that the power of the father was lost to a degree before it could be recaptured by the priesthood. It is not difficult to see how youth, inspired by the new tendencies of romantic sentiment, was prone to take advantage of these invitingly loose constructions, and how they offered at the same time a rich opportunity for the ancient and unregenerate way of masculinity, for the short-lived relation entered into with the shabby and world-old motive. The

advantage of the legal juggling accrued as ever to the class in power—the nobility, the higher clergy, the masculine sex. Ten of the seventeen such “marriages” carefully studied by the English student Furnival show “us men” (according to his fair-minded statement) “trying to sneak out of their contracts when they’ve had their fill of pleasure with the women.”

In any case the overwhelming evil of the time in question and of many centuries to follow was clandestine marriage, which stood, in its vast licenses, for the Church’s failure to command the marriage situation by a scheme of external control. It was a situation with which—because it could not be commanded—the Church was forced to make terms of peace, in the form not only of this “legal” marriage, but of endless dispensations. Frankly the Church was not prepared to weaken its numerical strength by the excommunication of so large a body of offenders as would appear under a strict construction, least of all its offenders of wealth and rank. Perhaps it was driven to its most numerous compromises to secure the legality of children born within its fold. Whatever the analysis, its concessions at this point are such that the outlines of legitimate marriage are nearly lost. And for part of Christendom these particular outlines are not to be recovered.

Into this chaos Luther peered with a kind of disillusioned steady common sense. The spell of the Middle Ages was somehow broken for him. He was not so much an illumined person as the average man set free. He saw the debaucheries of the monasteries, the bad behavior of society in general. He was disgusted with canonical quibbles. He considered that they (the Church authorities) had played a “regular fool’s game” with their minute distinctions between the “present” and the “future” tenses, and he did not hesitate to say so. He

was disgusted with the "nimble grammar" that meant nothing, the exaggerated difference between "accipio" (I take), and "accipiam" (I will take)—a distinction even more elusive in the popular, less highly articulated speech of the German people.

In this state of mind he advised the clergy, as a good beginning, to break their vows of celibacy, as leading to indescribably bad results, and to marry. Since it was a well-known fact that many bishops were adding to their revenues through yearly taxes received from priests in return for permission to live in concubinage, this was a stroke directed not only against licentious practice, but against the entire theory of indulgences, the original object of his first bold attack. He set the example at this point himself, breaking his priestly vows and marrying an ex-nun, by whom he had six children.

Marriage, according to Luther, and contrary to the decisions of the twelfth-century Church of Christendom, was a "temporal business"; again, as defined by him, "a temporal and worldly thing which does not concern the church"; which new and heretical definition, in accord with the trend of earlier Christianity, was to mark the way for the dissenting group, although this group was to linger then and thereafter—except for radical sallies—on illogical middle ground. Aside from his basic conception of the civil character of marriage the most socially valuable feature of the reforms of Luther in this field was the requirement of publicity. With his typical directness he departed from Mediæval quibbling and attempted to restore to the marriage process its true social character. The Catholic Church indeed had undertaken to correct the evils of clandestine marriage by requiring banns, but it had not made valid marriage conditional upon them, and had undermined its program—according to its usual habit—by dispensations to the influential. Luther went

about the matter of securing publicity in dead earnest. A valid marriage, according to his definition, was based on unconditional betrothals, publicly made; in addition to which he reinstated the old requirement of parental consent. As to the marriage ceremony, it continued to move largely in the old grooves with respect to form. It was performed at the church door, in accordance with the formal custom of many centuries, followed by a ceremonial within. The bride mass however gave way to a simple benediction and the reading of the Scriptures.

The elaborate system of forbidden degrees or impediments to marriage which had made divorce by fraud so easy was swept away by Protestant reformers in favor of a few workable definitions. Outright divorce for adultery, and (cautiously) for a few other causes—malicious desertion, for example—was generally allowed, although with discrimination against woman. Remarriage of the innocent man or woman without delay was sanctioned. One of the most salient features of the change in the field of marriage (to be dealt with in a following chapter) was that there was no longer an appeal to Rome. This meant at least the end of papal dispensations, of the special exemptions purchasable by money or influence in the old régime. Interestingly enough the spiritual courts with their jurisdiction over domestic affairs were continued—it was impossible to devise or even to conceive at once a new machinery to displace the old—but the law and judicature of the church, in England and in Germany, were now to rest on the sanction of the State.

Reform in marriage was thus immediately connected with the broader, the political aspect of the Reformation, taking its color, as we shall see, from the history of nations. And it was destined to express, like the revolt of nations, an essential protest against a merely authoritarian control, so careless of, so hostile to, a veritable inner life—

psychic, impalpable, made up of choices delicate and keen not to be indefinitely trampled on by mere organization. "It is clear that no outward thing may make him either free or pious," Luther wrote of man, "no matter by what name you call the externality." And again, "It in no wise helps the soul whether the body be clothed in sacred garments or not, or whether it be in churches or holy places or not."—"Nor can bodily prayers, fasts, pilgrimages, or the doing of all good works—be of any avail to the soul. It must be something entirely different that brings and gives piety and liberty to the soul. For all the above-mentioned parts, works and ways may in themselves be contained and exercised by an evil man a dissembler and a hypocrite."

This "something entirely different" was possibly not revealed to Luther, but he saw it afar off, it was linked in his eyes with the first Christianity of great works, and it emboldened him in his mighty crusade against humbug, against mere ritualistic sham. He was, according to the standards of the Renaissance, of sophisticated Italy—of the House of Medici—a crude man; and he was a man whose leadership was punctuated by bald discrepancies and disheartening mistakes. Harassed by the limitless difficulties of his position and that of his co-workers he once cried, in sturdy self-defense: "We are men, not God!" And yet he was so thoroughly a major figure in the spiritual life of his day and indeed of all time that it is impossible to deny him a measure of that "inner light," the heritage of the mystics, which was later to illuminate the Protestant movement in ways not foreseen.

This "light" did not disclose to him, in his time and place, any very exalted ideal of woman, although the reforms launched by him in the field of marriage, conceived in terms approximating justice, reacted most favorably upon her life in the long run and made possible

her progress. Luther himself saw woman as the hausfrau—probably the frank conception of a class which had not brought forth “ladies.” His keen moral sense would probably have rejected the ladies of court and salon had he met them. As matters stood he held to the firm position of Paul, which he took as scriptural. “Never any good came out of female domination,” Luther confidently declared. “God created Adam master and lord of living creatures.” This tone, as we shall see, is carried over by the English Puritan, with the result that the more Protestant the Protestant becomes, apparently, the more fixed and limited becomes the post of woman. But this, as we have already hinted, is not so much a phenomenon of sex as of social caste. Once let the class in question develop in the field of culture and we shall see its women outdistancing the Catholic lady.

But what, precisely, is this new group which gives type and color to the Protestant movement, from a social standpoint? So far the historic page has been bright with a pageant of princely figures, the eye has accommodated itself to purple, gold and scarlet. And we shall see these figures drawn into the brilliant and dire political contests of the Protestant revolt as an affair of nations. But another class of different history and habit, of more sober aspect, is to play from now on an increasingly salient rôle—the workers and the traders as contrasted with the fighters and politicians, a class destined to usher in marked economic and social changes in the affairs of men. A point of interest in connection with the class in question is that (with the peasantry) it constitutes the vast majority of humankind. Another point is that it has been held to a certain alert practicality, that it is not given to vague excursions into intellectual or ideal realms. The advance of this class stands for the advance of a new way of thinking—a way which is to usher in a new range of good

things; at the same time to destroy (unconsciously but ruthlessly) much of the grace and poetry of civilization.

This class which seems to thrive and make progress with the Reformation is composed largely of the craftsman or artisan group growing up with the newly flourishing towns—the markets and trading centers gradually displacing the old feudal manor, or sucking away at least its old importance, and thus undermining the romantic customs fostered by and associated with the Catholic Church. A striking domestic result consequent upon this change is a shift from the old home industry, in which the home produces what the home consumes, to production for exchange and profit; first, in response to orders, later, as men advance in business imagination, for chance sales. Along with these changes comes a notable development of trade organization, culminating in the craft guilds made up of such artisans as weavers, clothiers, fullers, dyers, makers of gloves and stockings, shoes and girdles and other articles of utility and beauty. These guilds have civic as well as industrial importance, and within them may be found the first democratic titles of distinction, the “Mr.” and “Mrs.” applicable to the master and his wife as set apart from the class of journeyman and apprentice. Commonly though not invariably these guilds close their doors to women, except as wives and daughters, in which capacity certain limited privileges are extended to them as associate workers. This family affiliation in productive work, a vestige of home industry, is further carried into the new period of organization in widespread family partnerships, based on the association of brothers and other relatives. In the majority of such groups as these woman is an active and valuable, though unofficial, factor, doing her quota of the given work and concerning herself with accounts and economies, as well as other practical matters. In the

home as out of it she is businesslike and competent, even though, like her aristocratic sister, she is hardly a person before the law. She drudges on without recognition, but not missing it acutely, as part of a class heartily absorbed in its thrifty struggle upward.

And yet this class with which we are today so familiar, known especially in the discourse of the Socialists as the "bourgeoisie," must not be too sharply divided from the world of which they have been so long a part. They have partaken of its religious feeling, they have swelled the ranks of its crusades, they have helped to produce its beauty. Relatively untroubled by the petty schisms and disputations which have shaken the ruling group, they have carried into the great Church projects a devotional spirit—attested to by the exquisite and patient artistry of abbey and cathedral, if all other proofs were lacking. But they have not stopped here. They appear not only in the rôle of craftsmen but of donors. The unrivaled stained glass windows with their blues and reds and yellows not to be recaptured must not be seen exclusively as the gifts of princes. Such was frequently the case. But they were also—impressively enough—the gifts of working-gilds, of butchers, barbers, grocers, of pastry-cooks and even water-carriers. In the typically beautiful cathedral of Chartres in France we are told that not one of the seven immense windows above and around the high altar was given by prince or noble.

Moreover the popular expenditure involved in cathedral building at its height (according to the sensitively interpretative historian of this period, Henry Adams), was never paralleled by any single economic effort except war; and while the people were no doubt exploited, and the theme of expiation for sins used to good advantage, nothing can explain away the devotional ardor and the spontaneous spirit contributed by the people to this widespread

religious enterprise. We read of the inhabitants of Chartres, for example, ranging from the most powerful to the most humble, so many as a thousand, harnessed together to a train of carts, drawing great blocks of marble from a quarry five miles distant to the cathedral site. So great is the difficulty, according to a contemporary manuscript, that they march in profound silence, broken only by suppliant prayers and the confession of sins. "At the voice of the priests who exhort their hearts to peace, they forget their hatred, discord is thrown aside, debts are remitted, the unity of hearts is established. But if anyone is so far advanced in evil as to be unwilling to pardon an offender, or if he rejects the counsel of the priest who has piously advised him, his offering is instantly thrown from the wagon as impure, and he himself ignominiously and shamefully excluded from the society of the holy." Upon the arrival at the church site the carts are assembled, now lighted with lamps and tapers, and the watch celebrated during the whole night with hymns and canticles.

Nearly every church of this particular period—the century lying between the late eleven hundreds and the twelve hundreds—was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, "Empress of the Highest, Mistress of the lowest," and the historian sees here "an intensity of conviction never reached by any passion." There is graciously recovered for us the picture of ten thousand worshippers on their knees before her—a mass of men and women ignorant in the main of church disputations, welcoming instead something benign which seems to fall like light upon them from one "whose chief joy was to pardon." Here is the patron of maternity, "far above the high altar, high over all the agitation of prayer, the passion of politics, the terrors of sin"—an influence felt to be equally potent and precious in the lives of men, erring earthly men held to a demand

too high for weak human nature, feeling for intercession and perpetual pardon.

But the day comes when the discrepancies and contradictions of this mighty system are to be solved no longer by these spells of blue and rose, the Virgin presence. Does faith imply an absolute cessation of discrimination, conscience, individual thinking? Have men been in a trance? For the atmosphere of churches is not the only tone the time affords. It is during this same period that there arises a new and eloquent type of disputation, attracting hosts of followers. Here, for example, are the compelling discourses of Abélard—known also as the famous lover of Heloise—discourses which are frankly enough an appeal to reason. And they are not inaccessible; they are immensely popular, they are listened to by average men. The papal edicts are in danger from now on of falling upon a more critical public ear. Under this pressure their note of authority is not modified, but grows, on the contrary, rather more commanding. Writes Pope Boniface VIII in his famous bull or official edict of 1302, with reference to the Church: "Whoever . . . shall resist this power, ordained by God, resists the ordination of God. . . . We, moreover, proclaim, declare and pronounce that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human being to be subject to the Roman pontiff."

Various events, however, over which the Roman pontiff had no power were ushering in vast changes. There was approaching that great day of the reading of all books by men themselves, without the mediation of priest or scholar. Toward the end of the thirteenth century good paper was being made for the first time in Christendom; by the end of the fourteenth it was, in Germany for instance, abundant and fairly inexpensive. There follow the printing-press, of movable type; in the fourteen fifties the first printed Bible; during the next half century (marvel-

lously enough) millions of volumes—against which the Catholic Church sets up its first Index Expurgatorius, or list of forbidden books, hoping to sweep back the sea.

Along with these mighty modes of liberation has come the translation of the Bible into common speech, a work for such impregnable types of men as the English Wycliffe and Martin Luther—no common scholars but men willing to dare all, who proceed like the rebuilders of the Jerusalem wall, with one hand free to labor, the other alert for defense. The languages of the people begin to take on fixed form. Now that it is no longer a question of Greek and Latin but of one's own mother tongue it behooves a man to study and acquire the art of reading. He is beginning to receive the almost incalculable benefit of cheap books. There are also leaders—beside Luther—who rise up to assure him that divine authority is vested in the Bible, and not in any church; that it may be found by him in the book upon his knees, without the aid of priests—how new a book, in his case, it is almost impossible for the citizens of a later world to conceive. And this flood-tide of mental life, it must be remembered, is breaking not so much into the forum and the theatre as into the family home, where woman is not to be indefinitely defended against its power of release.

Meanwhile the map of Christendom is being torn and changed by national movements consequent upon the Protestant uprising. In this new self-assertion, this conflict of nations, one of the salient features, from the standpoint of domestic life, is the elevation of the family to a royal post, together with the international diplomacy now operating through intermarriage—a subject to be briefly treated in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XVI

THE FAMILY IN STATECRAFT

WHEN a rebellious German ruler, nearly five hundred years before the protests of Martin Luther, defied the authority of the Pope, there followed the picture of a contrite and humiliated monarch kneeling in mid-winter for three days, barefoot and clad as a penitent, before the closed door of a castle housing, on that day, the one man in Christendom "whose feet are kissed by all princes" (to use his very phrase). "As if we had received our kingdom from thee!" had been the words of the reckless Henry; followed by the tremendous papal denunciation: "I forbid anyone to serve him as king"—"I absolve all Christians from the bonds of the oath which they have sworn, or may swear, to him." The time was not far distant, however, when the impotent protests of unruly princes were to be supported by a new world-spirit. They were to mean eventually the birth, the advance, of nations, with the result that that word of words, that spell-binding slogan, "Christendom," was to lose its mighty hold. The Roman Church was still to stand firm on its loyal territory, was even to renew its strength; but it had not succeeded in establishing by authority the brotherhood of man, the unity of Christians—just as it had not succeeded in establishing by authority the unity of man and woman in the institution of monogamous and life-long marriage.

Nearly five centuries after the losing strike of a German Henry we find an English one achieving full success in the

same bold adventure (the defiance of a pope). Henry the Eighth is determined to adjust his marriages without the leave of Rome, after repeated failures to obtain a dispensation freeing him from his first matrimonial alliance. This marriage with his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, (from which the Pope will not release him), is declared null and void by a church court strictly English. Moreover the success of Henry is more than matrimonial. He emerges from the enterprise (notorious in Europe) not only free of his former partner and possessed of a charming new one—the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, mother of Queen Elizabeth—but as acknowledged by his own Parliament, “the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England.” The English ruling in a subsequent matter (touching a family problem) has its peculiar interest: “True it is, that by Canon Law, the same is lawful; but by the Laws of this Realm their Issue is not lawful.” Again, an Act of Parliament declares a certain marriage “valid by the law of God—canon ecclesiastical, law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.”—“Likewise concerning Lands by the Canon Law” runs another ruling, “the foresaid Issue may inherit the same.—But it is otherwise by the Laws of this Realm.”

With what resilience, what verve and spirit, phrases like these appear upon the law-books! “This Realm” was indeed an England rising from its knees with respect to Roman dominance. And it is interesting to see how immediately and sharply the new spirit impinges upon canonical traditions of family life. Here indeed was the first stroke for the release of modern England, expressed in that curious admixture of the base and dignified which is human history. Henry the Eighth with his successive wives and the story of their succession does not present himself as the ideal way-shower. As an alert and popular monarch he was able none the less to sound for himself

and people the note of independence, the note of rulers and of thinkers who were to precipitate the working-out of statehood in new terms.

The "defection of England" as it is still called by Mr. Hilaire Belloc is thus intimately connected with changes in domestic law and jurisdiction. The reformation of ecclesiastical laws in this seceding country being urgent, a commission of learned divines and doctors of the Protestant party were appointed by Parliament to attack the problem, sitting over twenty years in the reign of Henry VIII, and rendering under Edward VI an elaborate report. While this report was never affirmed by the latter king, perhaps owing to his early death, it is yet of enormous interest in that it expresses in explicit form the standards and opinions of the early Protestant movement, standards which are soon to be reflected in English custom, whether or not they find their way into the law-books and thus establish themselves in articulate form. Among these recommended laws are the most definite contributions to the lore of marriage and the family, although it is more profitable to study this data at a slightly later point.

For another interest attaches itself just here to the rise of nations, and that is the constitution of the royal family itself, a family now exalted to the utmost importance in many places, and presenting the most complicated diplomatic problems in the field of intermarriage. Appearing in all types of highly organized society, the royal family is not a new phenomenon; but in Western civilization it pertains especially to the theme of progress, serving as an implement for dominant social forces, finally to be abandoned by them in the main as an outworn tool. Specifically, this family stands in the history of Europe for the survival of the fittest—at least the most powerful—among feudal families, those possessors of

great fiefs which gradually by marital alliances and war-like acquisition begin to appear as little nations—for example, Normandy, Brittany, Flanders. These half-dependent kingdoms, appealing repeatedly to the pope to settle the claims of their several rulers, are moving forward nevertheless as independent factors. Out of the most heated and frequently unscrupulous family competitions royalty emerges—as a winning “house,” and not a person. We are dealing then with family rather than with individual political ambitions, a situation which engenders its own psychology and sentiment, as well as social forms, and which stands forth in interesting contrast to the modern note of individual combat.

Victorious family lines evolving in this situation bear names quite as familiar to the ear as those of heroes—the famous dynasties of Europe, Scotland, England, such reigning “houses” as Plantagenet, Tudor, Stuart, Hanover; Valois and Bourbon; Hapsburg, Romanoff and Hohenzollern. Even in connection with the papal function may be observed the tendency to family supremacy, the Medici for example reaching the apex of their worldly power through this office, outdistanced however in this connection by the Borgias, among whom papal nepotism is carried to its highest pitch. These family groups and lines, good or bad and wherever they may be found in the affairs of men, stand for a persistence of the kinship tie so dominant in the primitive world, and but slowly displaced among all peoples by other and more purely mental kinds of association. As exalted to royalty this typical family carries with it and has a tendency to maintain in changing civilizations a marked patriarchal temper, including the importance attached to the birth of sons, arranged rather than elective marriages, male privileges and perquisites, and a kind of traditional and external romanticism expressed in manners and attire.

It is a family which must be seen also as intimately connected at all times with wealth in land.

From the standpoint of government we have in the main as proceeding from the royal family a line of hereditary rulers determined rather by accident of birth than by popular choice, a system whose formalism may result well or ill as regards the governed. For a nation may have at its helm, according to this plan, a representative of normal stock, but just as easily of decadent stock, in which connection may be cited the commonly well-born rulers of the Dutch, as contrasted with the frequently decadent kings of Portugal and Spain. Interestingly enough all history, including emphatically that of Greece and Rome, demands for its interpretation a consideration not only of dominant political ideas but of stock and family, so dependent is the fate of peoples upon the relations of men and women, the trend of events never being fully understood except in the light of this factor. And the chronic neglect of family life as an historic element is nowhere more apparent—and more fatal—than in the societies which find their center in hereditary kingship.

The royal family then *will* be considered, if all other families are overlooked; and it appears to have developed in connection with its function not only forms, customs and paraphernalia, but a system of morality all its own. Springing in almost every historic instance from a class of nobles, from a human group already part way up the ladder of social power, it exhibits as a primary characteristic, privileged conduct. The royal person is the unaccountable one, the one who is not under but over, the one who may do as he pleases; and this position is sustained even in the prime of Christendom by special attitudes and dispensations on the part of Rome, (although the path of royalty, in the presence of this higher power, was not entirely without chastisement). It is only

necessary to observe the life of courts to see how privileged, how exempt, is the royal person at their center, and this applies most pointedly to the modes of sex. Kings with their mistresses, their morganatic marriages, their general scope and license, live in a special realm, enjoying a freedom only approximated by those about them of "fortunate" birth. Christian monogamy as established by the Church is certainly not found—or expected—or missed—here, in this particular spotlight of glory. Indeed, "the king has honored me" is the typical attitude of that lady who has won the monarch's sensuous favor.

And the field of politics is marked by the same unique and accepted difference between the code of subjects and that of royal persons. Fortunately enough in this connection we are not left to our own enlightened guesses. We have, as related to the life of Italy, a notable handbook of the politics of princes, a celebrated exposition of the art of ruling, from the princely standpoint. This treatise is dedicated to the House of Medici, with a stroke of unerring logic, and we shall see its precepts carried with a kind of diabolical finesse into the court of France—by the white hand of woman. For Italy, still unimportant as a state, is seasoned in ways which enable it to pass on to more youthful Europe a wealth of technical instruction.

"We see from what has taken place in our own days" writes Machiavelli, "that princes who have set little store by their own word, but have known how to overreach men by their cunning, have accomplished great things, and in the end got the better of those who trusted to honest dealing." Again, ". . . a prudent prince neither can nor ought to keep his word when to keep it is hurtful to him and the causes which led him to pledge it are removed," a doctrine not entirely unfamiliar to the modern ear, as explicitly advanced in justification of certain

policies of the World War. "If all men were good," Machiavelli goes on to explain, "this would not be sound advice, but since they are dishonest and do not keep faith with you, you in return need not keep faith with them."

While this authority on the technique of princes, this Florentine, spare in build, of aquiline nose and tightly closed mouth, was making his sinister observations on men and things, there was born to the House of Medici a girl baby destined to become his most brilliant disciple, and to carry to European courts in person his policies and methods. There is a touch of pathos about this little girl whose mother died in child-birth, and who became an orphan six days later, her father (Lorenzo II) dying of an incurable malady. It was to Lorenzo I of this same house (Lorenzo the Magnificent) that Machiavelli had actually dedicated his famous book, "The Prince." Such was the background of the child whose very cradle was a storm-center of deceit and intrigue. As the only legitimate representative of the elder branch of her powerful family she was literally cast into prison by its triumphant enemies at the age of eight. Later, given over to the protection of the gentle Dominican nuns, it was suggested by her enemies that she might be more profitably placed in a house of ill fame—this to destroy the ambitions of her uncle, Pope Clement VII, who succeeded Pope Leo X as the guardian of her interests, and who would marry her to some prince or noble.

When Catherine is fourteen years old, left in entire darkness with respect to the meaning of the celebration, she is led forth from Florence sumptuously attired and attended by an escort of over a thousand persons. This cortège was so long that the head of it was said to have reached a point beyond the first village before the end of it had passed through the gates of Florence. Catherine

as well as the people began to suspect that her marriage was involved, but they alike knew nothing. At Leghorn Catherine met her uncle, Pope Clement VII, who had arrived in one of a flotilla of magnificently decorated galleys. The galley of the Pope was entirely upholstered in crimson satin with gold fringe and covered with a canopy of cloth of gold. It was elaborately modeled in Venetian fashion, and the oarsmen were ornately dressed. There were several bridal cabins furnished with some of the richest curios of the Medici collections. At this point Catherine is officially informed by the Pope that she is to marry the second son of the King of France, Prince Henry II. There is now, at the port of Marseilles, a tremendous celebration, where the Italian cortège meets the no less gorgeous French. Bells are ringing everywhere and three hundred pieces of artillery sound their salute. Flowers are strewn along the streets. In the midst of this pomp and show a boy and girl of fourteen who have never met before are married to one another.

In this peculiarly gorgeous and at the same time pitifully cold transaction may be seen the typical functioning of the family group in the service of ambition. In this alliance of the Italian Catherine with the son of Francis I the power and wealth of the illustrious Medici attain a royal goal. In due time, through the death of the Dauphin, Prince Henry assumes his position as heir to the throne, and Catherine sees before her royal vistas. During the following period of her marriage she becomes the mother of ten children, three of whom are to be kings, two queens. It is not, however, until the death of her husband, Henry II, that she realizes as queen regent the fullness of a dire and relentless power. This power reaches its ruthless, its Machiavellian climax in the massacre of the French Protestants or Huguenots on the night of St. Bartholomew, when Catherine gathers the Protestant leaders and hosts of

their followers into her net as wedding-guests—having announced a marriage between her daughter Margaret and Henry of Navarre. The Italian weapons of intrigue and assassination, resulting in the murder of two thousand persons before the following day, and a larger multitude outside the capital, are thus brought to bear upon French history with terrific force.

The marriage, the life, of Catherine de' Medici, sharply illustrate the entire sacrifice of human considerations to affairs of state. After a childhood presided over by plot and intrigue she is passed over as little more than a child into a plotted marriage which is later to be dominated by an older woman, the royal mistress of her husband. Beyond this Catherine is threatened by divorce because of her failure to give birth to heirs in the first period of her wifehood, a separation averted by her tact and later by the birth of the desired children. During this first difficult novitiate Catherine must be seen as a young girl cast into foreign customs, and entangled in court politics which gradually develop her de' Medician characteristics. She is to be found finally in the prime of her shrewd and loveless life possessed of the wily and unscrupulous technique of her forbears carried to its highest pitch, to which she adds a sweep of cruelty making her name historic.

It is not however under the banner of the Medici but under that of the House of Valois that Catherine has maneuvered for and attained her bold positions; and all that has been achieved in the name of Valois is now passed on to the more brilliant but equally unmoral Bourbons. There now appears in this latter line a most lustrous star which is to guide all Europe. It is not until the advent of Louis XIV that there is set for royalty a model, a pattern, worthy of imitation. Louis XIV is to a watching world the "grand monarch," the true king. He

is what his public wants—the expression of his era. During his exceptionally long reign of seventy-two years the life of his court is worked out like a play, a thing of art and form. Through this stretch of time, according to the modern historian, “his prevailing occupation was splendor”; but he was at the same time the genuine appreciator of gifted men, who prospered in his atmosphere. Neither was there a tendency in the life of his circle to discredit women. The society of his day was magnificently wasteful, extravagant, pleasure-seeking, indifferent to morals; but it was not yet degenerate.

Decadence sets in with the following Louis, to plunge to its destruction the royal line of Bourbon—(later, the Hapsburgs with it, in its Spanish branches). Manners and customs now grow profligate. There is more and more the temper of the theatre—in the gilded furniture, the ornate costumes, high red heels and powdered wigs. Yet the French palace at Versailles is everywhere the vogue. All royalty attempts its salons, pictures, mirrors, and its elaborate gardens, fountains, statues. Frederick the Great admires it from afar and would achieve French elegance and finesse in his German Potsdam. The House of Bourbon, nevertheless, is quite evidently on the down grade as stock, and this is most visibly the case with the complicated royal line of Spain.

The situation here involved, however, cannot be grasped in terms of a single royal line. It must be seen essentially in the light of its marital complications, the royal intermarriages which leave their mark not only on the stock but on the political and territorial maps of Western Europe. The most important of these marriages are traceable to the tactics of Maximilian of the House of Hapsburg, a distinguished “royal match-maker” who gradually assembled, through his talents in this field, the elements of a kingdom standing forth as the greatest

European empire since the days of Charlemagne. It is not to the point in a study of this character to trace the intricate marital maneuvers which cast into the hands of his grandson, Charles V, while still a child, the Netherlands; at the age of sixteen, the kingdom of Spain; later Naples and Sicily, and finally, through the venture of Columbus, a claim to the New World,—these in addition to Austria itself, falling directly to Charles at nineteen, upon his grandfather's death. It is sufficient to realize that this particular empire was largely the product not of wars and treaties, but of a series of deft royal marriages. So that the family must be seen at this point as a national instrument, accomplishing results almost identical with those obtained by war. The effect of this grand net-work may be illustrated in the relation of the Catholic emperor of this vast domain to Henry the VIII of Protestant England, the annulment of whose marriage with Catherine of Aragon, daughter of the Spanish Ferdinand and Isabella and aunt of Charles the emperor, was undoubtedly delayed, among other reasons by the Pope's fear of offending her powerful connections.

Such royal marriages as these, contracted to augment the extent and power of kingdoms, operated also in the direction of their undoing, through a kind of revenge of nature—a penalty which the houses of Bourbon and of Hapsburg, the dominant houses in these undertakings, did not escape. Through continued inbreeding, through the disregard of personal fitness, through a psychic brutality not without its dangers, they betrayed an increasing trend of marked decadence, particularly in certain branches. In Spain especially we have a nation inwardly weakened by degenerate kings—victims of a marital diplomacy involving the Hapsburg and Bourbon lines, who were to exhibit insanity, imbecility and numerous other types of mental and moral deterioration. In these con-

nections it is evident that the official license of the monarch combines with these unnatural marriages to bring about degeneration from the racial standpoint. Moreover the sentimental sacrifice of woman, age-old but here appearing in exaggerated form, is not to be overlooked; and it is not to be entirely explained away in terms of habit and ambition. Sofia Dorothea, the "uncrowned Queen of England," fainted when she first met the dissolute young German who was to be her husband, and who became George first; later she was imprisoned for life because of a love-affair involving an attempt on her part to escape this insupportable situation. Such was the moral code which permitted (as in this instance) the most flagrant display of mistresses on the part of kings, but which subjected woman, as here, to the most complete defeat of selective love.

From the political standpoint, however, the position of a queen, the consort of a king, was not without its compensations, in common with the position of queen regent, or mother of a king in his minority—as doubly illustrated in the sinister record of Catherine de' Medici in France. Here it was only by such indirections as these that a woman was able to command a measure of royal power, since women were excluded from the direct succession under the Salic law—an ancient statute excluding women from all land inheritance, but popularly associated only with their exclusion from direct succession to the crown. "Of Salic land" declares this old law of the Saxon or Merovingian Franks, (as finally cast into poor Latin), "no portion of the inheritance shall come to a woman; but the whole inheritance of the land shall come to the male sex." Interestingly enough in this early period, for all its discrimination against women as inheritors, we may note that hereditary office among these same Merovingians was sometimes passed to a brother or an uncle

as well as to a son—an obvious matriarchal vestige. A similar vestige (comparable also to instances among the ancient Spartans, Lycians and Iberians) is supplied by the early English chronicler Bede, who observed among the Picts that “it was the custom that the kingdom should come through the women rather than the men,” and who goes on to show how the crown, on the king’s death, went not to his son but to his brother, or his sister’s son, or to the nearest male relative claiming descent through a female, on the female side. It is also of interest to discover that the list of kings among these people, as described by Bede, contains no instance of a son bearing his father’s name.

The system of primogeniture or inheritance by the first-born male is, however, as might be expected, the dominant system in connection with the crown in developed civilizations. It may be traced back to the very ancient birth-right of the eldest son, and may be seen as following the trail of the patriarchal family in all places, although it has a history not without its variations, including for instance inheritance by the youngest son, and sometimes by both sexes—the latter custom (involving equal division between all sons and daughters) being another of the customs favorable to women which may be traced to a Teutonic source. Primogeniture as it prevails in feudal Europe is a system essentially providing for the holding together of large estates, for which reason it is found frequently persisting as a royal custom in territories no longer following its rule in other fields. As appropriate to a man-dominated and aristocratic order it secures a “sole successor” in the direct male line, thus preserving “through the law of the sword” the indivisible character of an empire or estate. Here and there as we have already noted this law makes room in its earliest applications for the co-heiresses who may be seen as

forerunners of the reigning queen, a custom manifesting itself in the royal lines of England, Scotland, Russia, and irregularly throughout the chronicle of primitive, historic and modern life.

By virtue of this practice the history of the man-made world is punctuated by the careers of reigning women which stand forth as anything but a mediocre contribution to social and political life. For the effect of the unique exaltation of woman to this post of honor, this opportunity to lay off her old complex of inferiority, is striking. The record of such queens as Elizabeth, Catherine of Russia, Cleopatra, should destroy a host of popular illusions with respect to woman's qualities, her attributes of sex. Her submissiveness, her mildness, appear in the light of these vigorous careers to be rather the traits of the socially subordinate one than of the female. The character of the queens in question flashes at once into correspondence with the hardy traits of primitive woman, the inventor, leader, artist. These women curiously lack the traits of women, as conceived in terms of limitation; they also lack, in varying degrees, much that seems highly favorable and worthy of conserving in the character of woman-kind. But their scope, their virtuosity in masculine affairs, their calibre, is not to be gainsaid. And as isolated instances it is not to be expected that they should be expressive of woman's temper, her mass-character, what she might be were she a veritable half of the social whole. They stand as highly exceptional but illuminating cases, out of the sphere of domesticated woman, sustained by masculine favor, and disclosing the capacity of individual persons, as released from a traditional and constricting spell—the conspiracy of ages. They are startling figures, in a sense—neither so stupid nor so good as the comforting composite woman with her negative ethics, her poverty of movement, is supposed to be. But they serve

to display a power not to be discredited, and one which will orient itself more justly in the social whole in the anticipated day when woman shall come to be, like man, a value-maker, leaving her individual impress upon the attitudes, the customs and institutions of humankind.

The family as royalty, appearing in civilizations throughout the world, may be traced in the history of Europe into a recessionary movement and disappearance—gradual or convulsive according to the temper of the nations making toward democratic goals. It may be seen in these last phases as a sentimental vestige of the patriarchal order, with its hint of sacredness in fathers, its dramatic trappings, its sacrifice of selective love in formal marriage, its fading psychology of class superiority and power. As a governmental form it is to prove insufficiently responsive to the will of that vast army whose thoughts grow critically distinct, and who are no longer consoled by romantic pomp and traditional spells. Man as an individual attempts to shape his destiny: his touch is more immediate. The machinery of popular institutions begins to find its form—coupled in significant ways with the psychology of protest, the new phase of religion about to bring forth its more deeply inherent characteristics in Puritan England.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ENGLISH PURITAN AND WOMAN

IF the prevailing preoccupation of certain kings of France was "splendor" this was certainly not the case with these and other monarchs during the most heated days of the Protestant-Catholic agitation. In these hours they were pressed into active battle-line, they became proponents of one or the other mighty cause, and national decisions at this time and in these terms were to determine the permanent status of many kingdoms. The most important of these settlements, as related to the theme of progress, involved the decline of Spain, the leading Catholic power, and the rise to importance and independence of the two closely related liberal Protestant nations, England and the Netherlands. A triumphant leader in this significant historic change is Queen Elizabeth, a political figure of such astonishing adequacy and force that the Romanist-Protestant controversy is practically brought to a close in her realm, in its primary form. And this decision contributes to the same result among the Continental powers: that is, the political map with its "heretical" and loyal nations tends gradually to assume a relatively fixed territorial pattern, even though the contest is here continued through many years. But Elizabeth, for all her Protestant position, is far from being a religieuse, she delights in gorgeous paraphernalia, her spirit is rather that of the Renaissance than of the Reformation, and it is not surprising that Protestantism as a movement of the people should press forward into a new phase in her régime.

During this régime, however, no one could have more brilliantly demonstrated the capacity of woman than this daughter of the House of Tudor, this prosperous and cordially accepted feminine ruler. It might be hoped indeed that much of the tradition touching the inferiority of woman would be disposed of by her example. We find nevertheless in circulation during her reign the most virulent attack upon women rulers, directed it is true against her Catholic predecessor, "Bloody Mary," but assailing the dignity and capacity of all womankind in the most heated terms. This pamphlet was from the hand of no less a person than the influential Scotch reformer John Knox, who would here impose upon the Protestant movement at an early date the fixed, traditional conception of woman's inferiority and subject status. It is probably the most disparaging article about woman ever written, if that is a title to distinction; it is even unrivaled by the most unflattering early patristic writings since it quotes them all, gathering the rays of sex-antagonism to one burning focal point.

"I am assured that God hath revealed it to some in this our age" (cries Knox in his "First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women") "that it is more than a monstre in nature that a woman shall reigne and haue empire above man." Again he refers to the empire of women as "the most detestable and damned amongst all enormities that this day abound upon the face of the whole earth"; in another place as "repugnant to nature," as existing in subversion of good order, equity and justice, and as "most contrarious" to the revealed will and ordinance of God. The sight of women, according to Knox, is but blindness; their strength weakness, their counsel foolishness. And shall the blind lead those who see, he asks, or shall the weak, sick and impotent nourish the whole and strong? "And these

notable faultes" he adds, "have men in all ages espied in that kinde" (a point not to be disputed).

In support of his position the writer cites in most scholarly manner a "host of witnesses" not unfamiliar to the reader: Tertullian, Augustine, St. Ambrose, Chrysostom, and above all, Paul. One of the reasons commonly urged among these authorities for humility in woman is her original sin, the punishment for which should be forever "sounding in her ears," as St. Chrysostom sees the case. St. Augustine is perhaps not without wisdom from the masculine standpoint when he feels that it is "dangerous and perillous to suffre her to procede." This would indeed be true were Tertullian right in regarding her as "the porte and gate of the devil" who must be encouraged to avoid anything likely to make her "forget the curse and malediction of God." "What, I pray you," writes John Knox in distress, addressing his thought to one of these authorities,—"What, I pray you, shoulde this godlie father have said, if he had sene all the men of a realme or nation fall down before a woman?" And man not only stoops, cries Knox a moment later, but he rejoices!

With which latter reviving thought we are reminded of a world beyond the sympathetic ken of the narrow Scotchman, a world dominated by the proud, wiry and most competent figure of the English queen before whom even Knox is obliged finally to bend his vindictive style to the point of breaking. Appended to the "First Blast" may be found two apologetic defenses addressed to Queen Elizabeth in which the author laments her displeasure against him, protesting love and reverence to her grace, and praying that her reign may be long, prosperous and quiet. It is reassuring to discover that "The Blast" was met with popular indignation, and that even Mary Queen of Scots, as rumor had it, was earnestly striving to have it refuted "by the learned of diverse realms."

But the Protestant movement from this point on must not be considered in terms of kings and queens, who have served as its needed champions (or opponents) but who are not of its essential timbre. The leadership, the zest and progress of the movement, now rest with another class which has supplied it from the beginning with its inner force, its voltage. This class, as we have seen, has thriven mightily through the rise of towns, the growth of commerce. By virtue of its economic status and a new set of attitudes it begins to negotiate with nobles, even monarchs, vigorously advancing a new set of claims against those of hereditary wealth and prestige. The most denunciatory adjective which may be found upon the lips of these men is "popish"; their tone is assertive, they incline to plain thinking and free speech, black clothes and cropped hair, and they demand their "rights." At least this may be taken as a fair picture of the radical Protestant in England. Such men as these are of the "middle class"—allowing always for the type of mind which arrives by vision and may come from any level—and they live by work, rather than by royal favor. It is worthy of note that they include at all times a minority of distinguished scholars. So great is the confidence of the class in question that it begins to make its approach to thrones rather with demands than requests.

The genuine mystery with respect to this class is its curious combination of worldly practicality and a touch of intuition in spiritual fields. The two combine in the self-acting person, the one encouraged by his Protestant teachers to look within for revelation, just as he is beginning to depend upon himself in economic and outward ways. This individual, drawn forth by a unique coördination of inner and of outer forces, is baffling in his contradictions: now he seems commonplace, opaque; and again he affects us with his moving spiritual boldness, a some-

thing as separate from hereditary culture with its glammers, as he is separate from the pomp and spell of courts, of prelates. The "scenic apparatus of divine worship," to borrow the phrase of his own day, is not for him; is not consistent with his new-found approach to the things of spirit. He objects to vestments, surplices, "idolatrous gear." He holds to "the simple ministry of Christ," as he defines it.

As we study this new type of person, especially in England where he is best developed, we shall see that he is under the continual necessity of making for himself more room. Such Protestantism as England has been able to assimilate and express in a church of state does not afford him (at length) sufficient scope. It does not express him. He is the Protestant *per se*—a protest, now, within a Protest. He advances as the Puritan, assailing both the Church and government in the name of his convictions and personal need of freedom. He is opposed to pomp and ritual, to extravagance and license; to the Anglican form of worship, too closely associated in his eyes with the traditions and modes of Rome. Since there is little about him of the liberal and urbane, nothing derived from the older, easier formula, "Live and let live," he is in revolt. His intensity of conviction, his inability to compromise, account for the numerous sects into which his kind (the Protestant kind) is precipitated at an early date. He is the one who will make a division but who will not yield. He bears before the world such names as Separatist, Dissenter, Independent. He is chiefly significant to us in a study of the family as the author of divorce in its modern implications, a characteristic product of his attitude not only in marital but in all affairs.

This Puritan trend in the field of marriage and its dissolution, legitimately derived from the original Protestant premise, is curiously hidden by the mere inertia of

the older social organisms, but its disguise is slight and the tendency must be discerned if Protestant civilization is to be understood in its later forms. Regretted and discouraged by the early English Protestant reformers, but slightly affecting the stability of marriages in England during the immediately ensuing years, divorce is yet allowed, contrary to the regulations of canonical law; this is the important fact. And it is possible to discover here in repeated and explicit statements the germinal idea of the divorce tendency of the modern world, and especially of the United States, so largely an expansion of the England of the Puritan, its fuller and more downright expression.

For divorce is established in England not merely as an admissible but as a dignified and proper mode of redress under some conditions, and while its abuse was denounced, as by responsible teachers with the welfare of the race at stake, its terms were soberly defined, "the lybertie of the fawtlesse partye to mary another" regularly conceded. In short, it was accepted that wedlock might be "amended"; and we have explicit statements as to the situations justifying this release. According to the ecclesiastical reformed laws of England, already referred to as not positively affirmed by any king but valuable as data, faithlessness, desertion and cruelty were, as they are today, the outstanding grounds for the divorce of a married couple. Beyond this, touching a string to its first vibrations in this direction, we have the acknowledgment of sheer incompatibility as sufficient for the dissolution of a marriage—a note of the utmost historic interest, although it was to find slight response in custom for centuries to follow. Divorce is obtainable, according to this code, for faithlessness, desertion, cruelty, several years' absence of the husband, "and in cases of such violent hatred as rendered it in the highest degree im-

probable that the husband and wife would survive their animosities and again love one another." Lamentable as divorce might be, it was no less "hurtful to society, on the other hand (as one reformer put it) to constrain a pair of human creatures in the name of religion to persevere in an association that could not accomplish the highest purposes of matrimony and debarred the ill-assorted couple from the serene and wholesome pleasures of Christian life."

But it is above all in the ample prose discourses of the Puritan, John Milton, poet and reformer, that we may discover the precise psychological approach of the radical Protestant to divorce, in England, although these steps of thought and feeling, resisted by tradition—themselves distorted by it where woman's status is involved—were not to assert themselves in custom until the Puritan program had wrought (as in America) more thoroughgoing changes. These writings of John Milton, practical in object and addressed to the attention of the English Parliament, are admirably articulate in relation to the theme at hand in that they are a deliberate attempt to deliver the relation of men and women from the "bondage of canon law." Conceived in the heat of personal domestic difficulty, they are yet an impartial exposition of the Puritan trend, as later proved in communities less bound by the older habits. And over and above their specific propositions, their particular detail, they stand for a notable attempt to deepen the premise of morality, to deliver conduct from mere institutional control: in short, to save the unity of inner and of outer life.

The major criticism of canon law as applied to marriage, in these writings, is a keen one, and may be taken as a keynote of all the following comment and analysis. According to canon law (spelt in the text of Milton in small letters) adultery is the one cause justifying the

dissolution of a valid marriage, in which event (as will be remembered) remarriage is not allowed to either partner. Marriage then, as it appears to Milton in its canonical definition, may be annulled if its sensual conditions are not met, but not in the event of more mental types of violation. It is in this connection that he refers with characteristic passion to "the ignorance and iniquity of canon law, providing for the right of the body in marriage, but nothing for the wrongs and grievances of the mind." "The unity of mind is nearer and greater than the union of bodies," he cries out in protest, he is indignant in his attitude toward those who "esteem the validity of marriage merely by the flesh," and he writes of the incompatible, "All the ecclesiastical glue that liturgy or layman can compound is not able to sodder up two such incongruous natures." Again (the poet in him speaking): "Not to be beloved and yet retained, is the greatest injury to a gentle spirit."

From the standpoint of the contract, Milton argues vigorously that "no covenant whatsoever obliges against the main end both of itself, and of the parties covenanting," and he sees in such compulsion a "notorious injury and abuse of man's free soul." In short, in common with the brusque Luther, he feels for inner values, for deliverance from a mere scheme of external discipline—from a coat of mail clamped on the living man. "Love," he writes, (moving beyond his time) "is the soul of wedlock," and he speaks of "injuries too subtle and unapparent for the law to deal with." He feels that "where love cannot be, there can be left of wedlock nothing but the empty husk of an outside matrimony, as undelightful and unpleasing to God as any other kind of hypocrisy"—this, (as he writes further), "because marriage is not a mere carnal coition, but a human society: where that cannot be had, there can be no true matrimony."

While Milton, in these matters, penetrates beyond the thought-frontage of his day, certainly beyond its customs, he yet believes himself to be in fundamental accord with the Protestant leaders, whom he quotes in these connections, and whose thought proceeds in practically every instance from the same basic premise as his own. But Milton like Paul had his illuminated areas, outside of which he was prone to speak of certain subjects (under the usual suggestions of environment) "as a man." This is the case when he considers woman, whom he sees with the most unmitigated patriarchal bias, through the most masculine and conventional eyes, though without the fervent indignation of a Knox. Let us consider his Puritan contribution to the vast and by this time somewhat monotonous anthology of comments on woman-kind: "Her whom God made for marriage [as he puts it] as contrasted with him for whom marriage was made."

"He for God only, she for God in him," writes he in the sonorous metre of "Paradise Lost," adding the following portrait of the traditional first mother, with its poetic rendering of the hair so highly cherished in canon law:

She as a veil down to the slender waist
Her unadorned golden tresses wore
Disshevel'd, but in wanton ringlets wav'd
As the vine curls her tendrils, which implied
Subjection.

This Eve, subsequently addressing her lord and master, speaks in these words—so excellently conformed (in anticipation) to Paul's instructions:

My author and disposer, what thou bidd'st
Unargued I obey, so God ordains.
God is thy law, thou mine.

But the positions thus poetically defined are substantiated in explicit prose. "In the image of God created

he him" quotes Milton, emphasizing "him"; and he goes on to explain that "had the image of God been equally common to them both, it had no doubt been said, in the image of God created he them." His conclusion is (as reinforced by Paul), "that the woman is not primarily and immediately the image of God, but in reference to the man." Dropping into [the pure Asiatic tongue, he cries: "From her the sin first proceeded." Again, in reference to man, he speaks of the "joining to him for his intended good and solace an inferior sex"—a direct and unambiguous statement. Later he writes with ardor of "this golden headship and subjection"; and again (with feeling): "It is no small glory to him, that a creature so like him should be made subject to him."

This attitude—historically familiar to the point of tedium—was not unique in Milton, but was fairly typical of the Puritan tone and standard where women were involved. The Puritan wife was literally controlled both in property and person by her husband, whom she was bound to serve and obey, and who owned her property, not only in movables and money, but including her ornaments, her clothing, her wages and her children, of whom he was sole guardian. For the new self-determination, the new "conscience," pertained to man and not to woman—in common with the later slogan, "Liberty, equality and fraternity" among the French; or the first declaration of American democracy that "all men are created equal." Among the Quakers alone, in the new Protestant order, were women seen as people. Elsewhere they were returned with added force to the patriarchal household, for the priest—the defeated rival of the husband and the father—was now withdrawn as a commanding person. The master of the family had won back his prerogative. He was responsible for the family morals, for the conduct of his wife and children. Even divorce,

as urged by Milton, was to be administered by the "master of the family" from whom it had been wrongly "plucked"—a plan which, had it been carried out, would have actually restored to him the old patriarchal right of repudiation.

But the day is saved at this point by other Protestant forces carrying forward the new civil idea, the importance of a decentralized, democratic and impartial state. We have in the short-lived Commonwealth of Cromwell, and especially in his Civil Marriage Act, a plan of administration anticipating many of the reforms and basic customs of modern democratic life. These changes registered a fundamental protest against "ecclesiastical jurisdiction in matrimonial causes," which the Cromwellian party believed should be referred to a temporal judge. Through the Marriage Act passed in the middle of the seventeenth century in England the earlier ideas of the German Reformation were given a temporary footing, as against the compromises of the sixteenth century, involving a "quasi-sacramental" or near-Catholic marriage (as the Puritan saw it).

In the new Act every step in the marriage process was clearly provided for according to a stern but at the same time lucid Puritan ideal. The first requirement was the consent of parents when either of the contracting parties was under the age of twenty-one. The publication of banns was then demanded, a certificate of these to be obtained from the parish register. As to the ceremony, a strictly civil one was at first obligatory, to be conducted by a justice of the peace of the county, city or town corporate, and it was a ceremony which consisted merely in the expression of mutual consent, accompanied by the simple interlocking of hands (the old hand-fasting). Another note struck by these firm anti-ritualists was the omission of the ring. An evident prejudice against

divorce accounts for the fact that it was not here anticipated or provided for in specific terms; but the case was covered in that all marriage cases were regularly referred to the justice of the peace.

This most interesting law, never formally repealed but abandoned by the royalist party after the Restoration, was yet to exert its influence as the expression of a faction whose history was not yet closed. For the time being, however, with the fall of Cromwell and the Restoration, the Dissenter is under discipline, a pagan gaiety is reinstated, to the sober-minded the devil appears to be again at the social helm. Not long after the return of monarchs a law is passed forbidding any assembly of five or more persons not of the same family for purposes of worship except in conformity with the Church of England. The following year the rule is established that no one is to take holy orders who cannot take oath never to attempt alteration in the government of church or state.

But Independency in England, in differentiating itself from the formal church, had stood in line from the beginning for exclusions from office, restrictions and persecutions involving even the death penalty as imposed upon offenders. In the meeting of these hardships the new movement had developed, probably according to the temperaments of its followers, a conservative and radical wing, the one aiming to bear with conditions with the hope of bringing about change and reform; the other, of more militant temper, inclining to out and out separation. For the latter Holland had been a refuge, and there the Puritan community of Leyden, prospering in a more liberal air, had lost much of the bitterness of perpetual antagonism and was beginning to show some of the finer spiritual value that lay deep-hidden in the heart of Puritan austerity. But the soil was foreign; was the little English company to live forever in an asylum?

The air was filled now with inspiring stories of a New World across the water: and we have the familiar epic of the Pilgrims, their daring, their hardy spirit, the adequacy of their attack on life as tried out under the severest tests. For we see them taking to themselves a new territory for their unique expansion and making an astonishing success there of that most difficult of all experiments: a colony deliberately based on community of ideals.

We shall best appreciate the vitality, the successfulness of this Puritan program if we bear in mind that America was, in the eyes of Europe, a romantic prize. This attitude of romance and sentiment—and territorial greed—associated itself historically with both church and state. To the great Church of Rome and to the leading nations the New World was a dream of empire; and it is interesting to see the technique by which each attempts its appropriation. It is formally apportioned by the pope, with an imperial gesture, to those whom he approves. It is majestically awarded by monarchs to their favorites. We shall see it finally in possession of the English middle class (to make a long story short) under no jurisdiction of either pope or king, presenting a society without titles, an official life without regalia. While the analysis must not be made too simple, as if there were no notable contribution from a southern colony of different type, from the Dutch, the Swedish settler; the French, the Spanish; and from the unhappy Protestant sects expelled from New England through severe theological definitions, it can hardly be denied that the civilization in process was being conditioned by one factor more than any other: the Puritan, the citizen-idealist, the one trying for a spiritual kingdom here and now in a faulty and perverse world.

Such was the power of ultimate success and indeed

dominion in the attitude and habit of these somewhat militant exponents of the great Protestant Reformation who seemed so nearly able to dispense with all spells—at least the old ones—and to get on. The essential key with which they turned the lock of well-being, as a class, was work; that work which they had learned to do when they still had on their shoulders the rich and idle. Responsibility and effort had left upon them a deep-bitten mark,—the fear of idleness, of play. And this conception was to establish itself in full force in family life, combining with necessity to shape the destiny of women and of children in the Puritan household. Moreover a new and unprecedented emphasis had fallen on family life even in England through the isolation of the dissenter, his persecution. The home became his fortress, the stronghold of his faith. With church authority withdrawn, he was to be from now on the custodian of family morals; at times, by law, he was restricted to this congregation and allowed no other.

Beyond all this, in England, so many of the things that people had enjoyed together were classed as evil—like the theatre and May dances—that there was practically no venturing into the social world, as the Puritan saw it. The family was safest at home; it was best not to rove abroad. But the over-sobriety of this family mentor must not be interpreted at this point entirely at his expense. The Restoration had not agreed in many ways with the social whole; manners were offensively corrupt, as well as trivial and absurd in pursuit of fashion. The “gentleman” of the hour was absorbed in aping France, adding to vice (divorced from Latin taste) a clumsy English rhythm, the Elizabethan brightness and spontaneity of the lady had begun to fade, and English culture in general had slipped into a weak, imitative and decadent phase. The Puritan is not to be reduced to a caricature in this

picture: he is, by way of contrast and for all his narrowness, a commanding figure—guiding his family through a substantial but oppressive sabbath. In watching him, none the less, one is assailed by a sense of desolation, as if in witnessing the silent, ghostly exodus of art, of joy, of beauty, of the feminine in life,—all of the goodness of existence that may be summed up in one short word—*grace*.

Yet it is impossible to appraise these Puritans as they stand rigidly resistant in a hostile world. It is not until they find themselves possessed of a half-conquered wilderness as in America that they are able to disclose a fuller, a more inward meaning, to lay down much that has been rather the armor than the real man. Here there is respite from mere protest, that tensivity of posture in a life strong in tradition. It is in America, in a dear-bought freedom, that there passes through their sternness something quite new and indefinable, a play of light. They are still unbending, still intolerant, still victims of their past, their habits. But as the life of New England drives bravely on with its schools and churches, establishing itself against all odds, there appears, surprisingly and everywhere, in the midst of homely and austere virtues, a something transcendental, a touch of mystic insight. The thunders of the Puritan preacher have in no sense abated; the rigorous discipline of the town fathers is not softened. Yet there is somehow brought forth in this rugged time and place, and in spite of all, the baffling secret of America: a spiritual awareness, a touch beyond the finite. It is as if a sharp and hostile quartz should suddenly disclose a vein of precious ore.

Meanwhile there are being wrought out in the civil life of western Europe certain important changes which will apply in due time to the life of woman, and which must be followed until their convergence with her interests appears.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE RIGHTS OF MAN

FOR over two centuries following the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation that strange entity, the human composite mind, had been disturbed, stimulated and impelled to progress by religious issues. It was now to pass into a new ferment in another field: the field of what we might call today "social science," but one which would need to be described in this earlier hour by words more expressive of its impassioned, its creative character. "Man is born free but everywhere he is in chains," cries Rousseau in France, in a sentence voicing the spirit which was to impel the most revolutionary changes in the century to follow. In 1762 he publishes one of the most stimulating discourses on society ever written—*The Social Contract*, a treatise easily torn to pieces by fastidious critics, but one charged with vitality and destined to impregnate the thought of his time. What we are confronting here in Rousseau and in the enormously numerous thinkers and agitators dealing with like issues is a something bred of both the Reformation and the Renaissance, but more particularly the child of the former movement, especially in its English aspect. A new spiritual attitude, against overwhelming odds from the standpoint of organization, has found its place in the sun. And the new viewpoint has come to stay: it is henceforth a fact. But what are its political, its social implications? How does it affect the body politic, the institutions by which men are actually living?

Through the most astonishing intellectual ferment

these questions drive toward their answers. Every attitude and slant breeds its social philosophers, its voices. To begin with there have been the Reformed Churches of the Continent, Calvin's religious colony of associates or disciples at Geneva. But England, a little slow in its first motions, is soon found in the lead. There is no radicalism anywhere so virile, so promising as that of the Independents. There is no group like the Puritan for demanding that the word be made flesh; for forcing an at-one-ment between the inner and the outer. Spirit with the Puritan is to take form not alone in churches but in the actual institutions by which men live their daily lives. The boldest experiment in this field and one watched with the closest interest is that of the Pilgrim Fathers, actual colonization under the new banner. The American wilderness offers a unique opportunity for the unfoldment of the radical Protestant theories. Happily for the success of the enterprise however it is not conceived or undertaken in an experimental key. The Puritan vision is distinct, it has practicality, completeness. All that is asked for by its leaders is spiritual freedom, respite from persecution. For all their firm practicality they have this note in common with their mystic predecessors: they do not think, they know. And under the eager gaze of the Continental theorists they live and prosper. The very institutions existing as social visions actually develop as anticipated in the thoughts of men; and under the most disheartening physical conditions, they advance, they thrive. New colonists in increasing numbers, and with more resources, join the pioneers—those illuminated ones whose particular act of daring is not to be repeated. The success of the New England establishing itself on a "stern and rock-bound coast" is more than meagre. It supports, by example, the short-lived but influential Commonwealth of the home-staying

Puritan group, and it acts with mounting inspiration on the life of France.

The thoughts that men are thinking in these days cast themselves into names and slogans which have not lost their fire to the modern mind. They are not only names pertaining to the actual processes and institutions by which the modern—and especially the American—carries on his life. Their emotional content is still living: they are not yet routine but are still charged with their invigorating, their sacrificial, their romantic history. These words and phrases may be given, without attempt at order, as “the rights of man,” “freedom of worship,” “freedom of speech,” “the inalienable rights of life, liberty and property,” “resistance to tyranny,” “the social contract,” “popular government,” “the sovereign people.” . . . Fortunate are the monarchs who submit to the inevitable, the new drift of things, and allow the constitutional or restricted monarchy to shape itself by a comparatively bloodless process as in England. But even the English method is too inelastic; even the Englishman is backward in his realization of what taxation means, in the new terms. The American Revolution defines the issue, demonstrating for all time the sufficiency and courage of the Puritan civil state. France, grappling somewhat more academically than this with tradition, now takes fire and the old order threatens to be consumed in a terrific blaze. The Third Estate, opposing itself with its enormous numerical superiority and new confidence to nobility and clergy, declares itself the nation. While the older order, in a civilization so deeply rooted as that of France, is destined to assert itself before the full realization of the new day (as in the case of England, but more drastically), the commonwealth of the reformer’s vision is, among the French as with the Anglo-Saxon, ushered in.

In this hour is written the doom not only of Bourbon,

but of Hapsburg, Romanoff and Hohenzollern, although the fall of these latter houses in the name of the new ideas is to be deferred for more than a hundred years. What man has done is to depart entirely from the historic, the traditional form of things, and to *think* his way by a first-hand process into the actual nature of society, of government, of the political and economic association of fellow-beings. In the midst of a torrent of fallacies and contradictions, something like the following has come through as a working-basis, a something to be accepted commonly as the ground-plan of the democratic state:

All men are created equal.

The state is a body-politic formed by a voluntary association of these free and equal men for their common good.

Voting for representatives is a typical function of these persons subject to government only by their own consent.

A written constitution defines and limits the powers of the state; but the sovereign people is seen to stand above it, in that provision may be made (as in the United States) for its amendment by their joint action. To this sovereign people may be specifically reserved also, together with other rights, that of revolution.

Class privilege is abolished.

The striking way in which the new instruments of democratic government are prefaced by philosophic statements or avowals of ideals is interestingly commented on by Professor Dunning in his study of the evolution of political theory. The Americans are logically the first to cast their political philosophy—almost their religion—into practical law (still maintaining the keen separation of church and state), and their state documents of this character are so happily composed that they may be seen as something more politically significant than local statements for local use. The Declaration of Inde-

pendence, together with Federal and state constitutions, are at one with the French Constitution, as finally arrived at, in that they all incorporate the vision, the realization of the seventeen hundreds touching the "Rights of Man."

Of *woman*, in this political philosophy which converts even the state paper into a kind of transcendental essay, there is not a word. She does not appear in the new classification of human beings; socially, or independently of wifehood, she does not live. Were she a valid person, everything thought and uttered with respect to the new citizen would apply to her. Classes are abolished, there are only free and equal individuals. The simplicity, the defenselessness of the omission establishes one thesis: women are not people. For verification of this point we need only turn to Blackstone's celebrated *Commentaries*, a summing up of English common law which supplies us with explicit statements touching her position in England at this time. In a century of the most revolutionary social ardor, in a society centemplanting its own liberalism with starry eyes, we may read the following:

"By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law; that is, the very being or legal existence of woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of her husband; under whose wing, protection and *cover*, she performs everything. . . . Upon this principle, of an union of person in husband and wife, depend almost all the legal rights, duties and disabilities that either of them acquire by marriage."

"There are some instances, [Blackstone goes on to say] in which she is separately considered; as inferior to him and acting by his compulsion." With reference to the relation of parent to child attention is directed to "the legal power of the father—for the mother as such [the text explains] is entitled to no power, but only to respect and reverence."

In another article one may consider the "method of ac-

quiring goods and chattels by marriage; whereby those chattels, which belonged formerly to the wife, are by act of law vested in the husband with the same degree of property and with the same powers as the wife, when sole, had over them"—a law subjected to certain favorable but mild modifications in the case of real estate, and in the event of widowhood.

There is somewhat apologetic reference also in this passage to the common-law right of the husband to chastise his wife for misbehavior, to render a "moderate correction," as in the case of his apprentices and children. But it is suggested that politer manners have left this privilege largely to the lower class.

One of the interesting features of these laws as presented by the noted commentator is his continual effort to discriminate between the fields of the ecclesiastical and civil courts, to separate from canonical tradition the accepted English law. But it must be admitted at this point that woman fares badly either way: whatever exists for her in the new personal freedom has yet to be declared.

Yet the actual implications of the new social order with respect to woman's status have not been so utterly ignored as would first appear. In the revolutionary seventies and eighties, those contagious and eventful years, there are voices raised. The first thoroughly spirited petition for the inclusion of women in the new régime comes from the pen of Abigail Adams in America, in the great year of 1776: "I long to hear that you have declared an independence," she writes to her husband, the future president, John Adams, "and by the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors." To which she adds, with a touch of militancy, that if "particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will

not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation."

So far as rebellion was concerned, this was not to appear in America in this connection until a later date; but something of this character was to manifest itself in the more sensational life of France, during its most heated phase. Here in connection with the salons there developed a movement with tendencies entirely unlike anything indigenous to England or America and destined to flare up into a somewhat dramatic but curiously fruitless agitation. Immediately before the outbreak of the French Revolution it was apparent everywhere that the tone of the salons had deepened, social and political theories were evolving in their midst, it was not always easy for the most tactful mistress of conversation to steer a course through dangerous controversies. A new seriousness was rapidly displacing the old airy lightness; there came a time when the king's deposition (so it was rumored) was discussed in parlors. Many of these affairs, quite evidently, emerged from social groups not only admitting, but commonly presided over by women. And when French life broke forth into a passion of clubs and political parties, forming, dissolving, and reforming, it was not surprising that they were interpenetrated by women. These women, to whose wit and eloquence men had long been accustomed, were not consigned to the position of listeners alone, where the new issues were debated. For a time,—so long as they appeared feminine, witty, flexible—they were allowed to speak.

But it was impossible to concede woman so much leeway, and to deny her the rest. Capable of first-hand thinking she was quite as able as her American sister, Abigail Adams, to make the one bold stroke of inference from the new democratic premise. No longer the mere supporter of a masculine republican idea, she turns

feminist. Her new leaders no longer devote themselves to upholding the hands of men. First come the clubs admitting women, then the clubs openly designed for both sexes—largely abandoned by men to women. Now come the clubs entirely *of* women, with a program and a purpose. The logic of events is not to be defeated. Following the same form as the Declaration of the Rights of Man, a Declaration of the Rights of Woman is now addressed to Marie Antoinette. This is the year in which women also present a petition for equal rights to the National Assembly.

The history of women following these lines in France is sensational to a high degree. It was objected of one of the most notable leaders that she had "fireworks" in her head. The religious ideas entertained by them as revolutionaries were diverse and conflicting, there was little homogeneity of aim or permanent communion of spirit among them—which was natural enough. And many presented an ill-starred combination of vision and ambition. An effect of disorder and public menace was added to the situation at an early date by a large popular procession from Paris to Versailles in which a motley crowd made up largely of fish-wives and market-women advanced as a delegation to the King.

In 1793 the National Convention closed all women's clubs, societies and even salons, because it believed that woman in public affairs lacked the prerequisite of "imperturbable equanimity"—a phrase cherished by Miss Winifred Stephens in her valuable account of this dramatic period in its relation to womankind. Whether or not this "imperturbable equanimity" was preserved by men in the months to follow it is not necessary to determine here. And the noble contribution of the social philosopher Condorcet to the cause of women will be considered in its spiritual rather than historic place. More im-

portant in this connection, is the social conception of woman entertained by Rousseau, because this was to triumph, to link itself with the decisions of the French people as finally embodied in the Napoleonic Code.

According to Rousseau, expressing the masculine complex in its undisturbed perfection:

"Woman is especially constituted to please man," and voicing a body of sentiments entirely in harmony with the Laws of Manu he declares: "They never cease to be subject either to a man or to the judgments of men, and they are never allowed to place themselves above these judgments." By way of warning: "Never suffer them for a single moment of their lives to know themselves free from restraint."

"What nonsense!" cries Mary Wollstonecraft, when the book embodying these attitudes on the part of the distinguished liberal falls into her hands. Herself a revolutionary, wife of the stirring writer Godwin, she is entirely familiar with the platform of human rights as conceived by men, and her retort to Rousseau is with all its faults a classic. *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* written in the English language inaugurates a movement which is to narrow and intensify its sphere of influence and purpose to ensure the making of its first practical goal—political equality. "The divine right of husbands" like the "divine right of kings," according to Mary Wollstonecraft is to be contested. She sees into a future of far-reaching changes consequent upon securing "the rights which women in common with men should contend for."

But it must not be imagined that the effects produced upon contemporary life and thought by the champions of woman of this period were in the least deep or far-reaching. Such attitudes were considered eccentric and impossible by all but the seeing few. The Condorcets in France and

Mary Wollstonecraft in England were to suffer in connection with the views they held the discredit of pioneers. Their expressions of clear-seeing, however, were to hold over steadily till a later time, to reinforce the courage of those taking up anew their particular warfare against prejudice and tradition and the self-interest of a sex in power.

Meanwhile the Code of Napoleon in France was to register the pre-Revolutionary position of woman with a loss. In sweeping away the class vote or vote dependent upon property qualifications, the Revolution had effaced their occasional participation in local affairs. Article after article in the new set of laws defines unmistakably their subject place. To begin with a wife must obey her husband. She cannot enter into legal proceedings without his consent, or witness an official document. The father is the sole guardian of the children until their majority, and where permission of parents is demanded in connection with marriage, the consent of the father suffices if the two disagree. The husband alone administers the property of the "community" in marriage and this is in most respects without the concurrence of his wife, although it must be noted that woman makes a gain as inheritor under the new code, the law requiring that male and female offspring in this connection shall share alike. Divorce as a reflection of the new age has entered France as well as England, but the new law, in its insulting inequality, reads as follows:

- 229 The husband may demand a divorce on the ground of his wife's adultery.
- 230 The wife may demand divorce on the ground of adultery in her husband when he shall have brought his concubine into their common residence.

The same protection of male license is eloquently expressed in the following clause: "*La recherche de la*

paternité est interdite”—freely translated, one shall not seek out the father of an illegitimate child.

In France as in England, the restoration of kingly privilege had carried with it a reign of license, a return of emphasis on gallantry, on woman as courtesan and mistress. This was the atmosphere in which the social values as touching men and women were to find their fixed form, with little statutory evidence of an earlier and more liberal hope. The divorce of Napoleon and Josephine ran true to patriarchal type, and the French régime so far as woman was concerned practically reaffirmed the historic continental attitude, without any very appreciable reform or modification.

The American Colonies, controlled by English standards, developed for a time practically no new modes in the field of domestic life, although old customs were to be inevitably modified to a certain degree by the new environment. Among other things it was impossible for woman's status not to rise under the new conditions through her solid merit. As the hardy pioneer, of physical and moral courage, it was none too easy to read into the actual woman the legend of the ages. It was impossible actually to insist upon her inferiority, her dependence, her incompetence. Grappling with frontier conditions heroically and at first hand she did not look, at least to the uncritical eye, like the weaker vessel. As a matter of fact, before the formulation of local statutes, women were not necessarily silent members in the town councils, so that in many instances they had to be specifically excluded, or disfranchised, before the community could take on a time-honored form. In the colony of Maryland one woman, heir of Lord Calvert (brother of Lord Baltimore), and executor of the estates of both, precipitated a lively debate by demanding “place and voyce” in the legislature.

But in this instance as elsewhere the historic supremacy of the male on the new continent was maintained, the later threat of Abigail Adams was not heeded or carried out, and woman found herself still in the position of a civil and domestic subject. In the Puritan home the status of woman was simply a continuance of that accorded her in England, although there fell to her a much heavier program of work. Weaving and spinning together with a primitive variety of household tasks was to be efficiently combined in her case with the bringing up of large families of children—fifteen was not an uncommon number. In this type of service it may be observed that the sturdy Puritan fathers wore out in many instances several wives, and it is certain that the mortality of babies born under these conditions was high. It must be granted nevertheless that the firmly organized hard-working Puritan household was largely responsible for the outcome of the New England enterprise; for the seekers of gold and various types of treasure had not inaugurated the successful settlement of the New World. Neither had the missionary priests laid a foundation for developing life. For this the *family* was demanded, the English family that had thrown off the yoke of church and state authority, and was able to proceed in the fear of God and under the immediate guidance of the master of the house.

This lesson as to the importance of the family unit in colonization was promptly learned in the South, where the first discontented and unstable settlers were supplied finally with a shipload of English wives—respectable and plucky girls keyed to a bold adventure. Each man was obliged to pay the passage of his chosen partner, and to show his ability to support a wife; but true to the spirit of English institutions, no girl even under these conditions was to be married without her consent. The experiment was successful and the new colony began to

take root. Here as in the North the laws presented little variation from those of England—less indeed than in the North, since the Puritan enforced the radical ideal of civil marriage and divorce, while the South conformed to the custom and ritual of the Established Church. This section, however, never went so far as to institute ecclesiastical courts, with the result that divorce was here avoided, as commonly in the Dutch colony of New York, since there was no conventional machinery for the handling of the issue. The tone of the South was on the whole more feudal and less middle-class than that of the North, which resulted in a note of grace and courtesy in American manners—and in a chivalry toward woman complicating the matter of her frank advancement in the long run.

The Rights of Man then, in the New World as in the Old, pertain to man, the masculine one; for woman is not seen at this point—and probably does not see herself—as a human being. But other impelling forces besides those which have been so visibly active are now to take the field. The home which has been able to weather so many changes without change is shortly to be struck amidships. In the Colonial home as elsewhere weaving and spinning are being thriftily carried on as in all households from time immemorial. But back in England, especially in rural districts, there has been a remarkable speeding up of this kind of work. Even before the departure of the Pilgrims the households of the country were being rapidly pressed into longer hours and harder labor. More and more men were turning their attention to the household looms, women and children were being held more and more strenuously to the task of spinning, to keep up with the weavers. Commission merchants were more and more frequently delivering raw materials and demanding finished goods. It was hard indeed for a man to find time to cultivate his small plot of ground. In fact a

great change was impending. So early as 1603 the following article was to be found among English statutes—the perennial note of warning, of resistance, when a new order threatens:

No clotheman shall keepe above one lombe in his house, neither any weaver that hath a ploughland shall keep more than one lombe in his house. Noe person or persons shall keepe any lombe or lombes goeing in any other house or houses beside their owne, or mayntayne any to doe the same.

The makers of these statutes, as we shall see in the following chapter, were trying to sweep back the sea.

CHAPTER XIX

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

ONE of the most remarkable aspects of the home so far, from an industrial standpoint, has been its stability or inertia in the general flux and excitement of masculine affairs, especially among the middle class, the "people." The lady as an artificial product has shown a tendency to reflect, at least superficially, these ups and downs. Domestic woman, in a stricter sense, has been tied to the vital processes which must be carried on regardless, and with her there has been the least possible change. Whether the Catholics or Protestants are in the ascendant, whether or not the "rights of man" conflict with the "divine right of kings," whether there are territorial losses or acquisitions, there is food to be prepared and cooked, there are children to be tended, there is spinning and weaving to be done. So unremitting—and so similar—are these tasks throughout the ages that the duties of the young Greek wife described by Xenophon are practically the duties occupying the wife of England after the passage of over two thousand years. The home continues to be woman's "place." Here she does her work surrounded by her children and her helpers—frequently in the middle class in association with her husband, who has a tendency to coöperate with her in the work of weaving.

But the original craft of textile-making, as will be remembered, belonged exclusively to woman. It was she who exploited nature for its first materials, who discovered or evolved essential processes, who invented its first necessary tools. Later we have the classic picture of woman with her distaff; by the fourteenth

century the spinning-wheel appears in Europe so that foot-power supplements hand-power, and the picture slightly changes. But the work continues along the original lines. Whether it be a question of flax, wool or cotton, woman must make a beginning by combing out the tangled fibers: they must then be worked by her into a continuous thread. She turns now to the loom to begin her textile, or she may proceed as needle-woman with her finest threads, dropping into her immemorial craft of stitching. In the hands of the lady with her leisure and exemptions both of these crafts advance into fields of significance and artistic beauty. In the museums of to-day may be found examples of her glamorous fabrics and embroideries, the latter rivaling the art of painting as the earliest epics or historic narratives to set forth in decorative form the deeds of heroes. Helen is described as sitting apart engaged in the embroidering of a most gorgeous garment portraying the Trojan war; the togas worn by Roman generals at their triumphs were frequently wrought in the most elegantly symbolic fashion; in the early Christian period the whole history of the church was embroidered on the toga of a senator. And the most famous Bayeux "tapestry," depicting the conquest of England by the Normans, is not a tapestry at all but a magnificent embroidery attributed by tradition to no less a lady than Matilda, queen-wife of William the Conqueror himself, and daughter of a Flemish earl.

The art of weaving, however, was to be taken partially out of the hands of women at an early date by skilled men, and organized along the lines of the craft-gild. Under these conditions the work might be carried on in the home or in outside shops, but it developed in either place as a highly specialized and man-governed craft, carried on in coöperation with women and frequently in family groups, but under the management of men. Women were occa-

sionally admitted to membership in these gilds as we have noted, although they were more commonly excluded from all but the minor privileges enjoyed by them as wives or daughters. At least this was the situation in towns as contrasted with rural districts, for in towns the craft of weaving as taken over from women by men was fostered by minute gild regulation. It met not only the immense practical demand laid upon it, as conformed to this mode of organization, but pressed forward into the rich cultural expression of the time. Tapestries, the successors of embroideries, were to become not only beautiful but epic, historic and symbolic. From Arras in Flanders comes a magnificent tapestry presenting scenes from the Apocalypse, another remarkable Flemish design portrays the history of Clovis. Cardinal Woolsey in the sixteenth century purchases (at great expense) over a hundred and fifty immense pieces of tapestry woven with Scriptural subjects for the palace of Hampton Court. Many of the tapestries at this time were woven from designs by the most celebrated painters, so that the products of the loom ranked among the artistic masterpieces of the day.

But the textile art, in common with the fabric of life itself, was to be subjected in the eighteenth century to a tremendous change and reorganization. There had been imported into England from Flanders somewhat earlier not only the skilled weaving but the skilled weavers themselves—at a time when Protestant Holland was being hard-pressed by Catholic Spain. In the same way the silk-making Huguenots driven from France became the teachers of the English. The object of England was by this time however more practical and commercial than artistic, she was less interested than formerly in the adroit handling of gold and silver thread. Already somewhat noted for her wool and woollen stuffs, her desire at

this time was to capture general markets, to promote the production of popular textiles—textiles which bore such familiar names in the old English writings as damask, muslin, buckram, taffeta, velvet, as well as the sturdier titles, wool and cotton. For England was at this point in a position to advance in material well-being. Raw materials were pouring in vast quantities into her ports—such were the immediate effects of colonization and expansion (the Boston Tea-Party had not yet taken place). The great demand was for more speed, especially, in the working up of raw materials into finished goods.

At this point the town craftsmen were less valuable than might have been anticipated, hampered as they were by Mediæval rules and a Mediæval attitude. They were entangled in the old gild laws, they wanted time to perfect their workmanship. They belonged, in short, to another day; they were defensive, resistant and hard to handle. Interestingly enough the new strain of production falls on the rural districts, although the towns are to register in the end a decisive victory, if victory it may be called. Home-industry as it existed in the rural cottages of England was free from rules, it set up no defenses, and under the local pressures exerted everywhere by that new type of person, the commission merchant, it was coming on. There was no machinery anywhere; the better tools might be leased to the country worker, and on especially good terms because he was accustomed to little money. The opportunity which actually came to his door was welcome, as offering him a chance to supplement the meagre living wrested from his small patch of land, his "plough-land." Then the new plan enabled him to capitalize the earning power of his wife and children.

When Daniel Defoe made his somewhat celebrated tour of rural England he supplied an interested public with a graphic if somewhat rosy report of the life going on there

at this time. He observed to begin with that the land was divided into small enclosures of several acres each, and that every three or four such pieces of land had a house, so that the houses were practically within speaking distance of one another. These houses were located near some stream, in nearly every case, and according to him the dyes and deposits coloring the water flowing from these cottage work-shops enriched the verdure and generally increased the beauty of the country landscape. Certainly the commons had disappeared, and with them the less thrifty class who had no hold of any sort on land—possibly to become vagabonds or paupers, in any case to disappear mysteriously as tenders of their few geese, pigs and cows on the common land. One with the faculty of looking one move ahead could have seen a greater exodus, and in the place of Defoe's cheery picture, Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*.

But no one could predict an Industrial Revolution, and the cottage system ran busily on, trying its best to meet the demands put upon it by long hours of work, and the utilization of even the little children, who were commonly gathered into the routine if they were over four years old. The women and children did the spinning, partly because it took five or six to keep up with a weaver, partly because the spinning was simpler work, so that it could be done by very small hands or combined with other tasks. The father rather than the mother was industrial captain of the home under these conditions, and might have in his employ several apprentices besides his sons. But the family were all together, working in coöperation, and the enterprise has its cheerful aspects. There is a good deal of singing over the work, according to reports, and probably much merry chatter. Woman is still responsible for her poultry and kitchen garden, not to mention the meals and children, and she stands ready to

help her husband in his farming at the proper season, either as a hand in the hay-loft or at the plough. She must also go out on market day with her eggs and butter, perhaps some chickens and some corn, picking up news and gossip as well as a little money, or household necessities in exchange.

But it is a point to be noted that woman does not take the family yarn or woven cloth along with her butter and eggs to market. This type of marketing is not done in a private way: it is attended to by the new figure in country life, the commission merchant, acting in behalf of "clothier" or "entrepreneur," (the capitalist-to-be). Long before there is the least change in the machinery or equipment of this working world we find this agent operating like a shuttle between the great distributing centers and the cottage groups. He brings them raw material and he receives the finished yarn, which he prefers to handle wholesale. The finished yarn is again put out to the home groups for weaving, the finished textile for fulling, shearing, dyeing. In this way, even in the old environment, there appears a certain profitable division of the work into parts and processes—a division at least profitable to the entrepreneur or commission merchant, who through his planning and manipulation is able to make money out of the work of others. For all of the work done for him he makes a cash payment to the father, who owns the family earnings.

It is not long before this capitalist, or his agent, is beginning to develop centers in which to group his workers (in spite of earlier laws attempting to prevent the gathering of "lomes" under one roof). He will take over where he can an old barn, or any available building. We are even told in one place that he "hath now lomes in this little church," (significant of much to follow) and he rapidly develops the idea of constructing for his enterprise

cheap shacks. This is all practicable because there is as yet none of the machinery which causes floors to tremble: there are only "lomes" and spinning-wheels of the historic sort, operated by the power of hand and foot. Often the hand and foot are both extremely young, as we have seen, and the gathering together of workers in one place has resulted in divisions of processes even more minute and clever. Women and children are increasingly available. Cheaper than men, they are yet able to cover more than half of the work, as it is now arranged. And they are all now on "wages": that is, no one has now a personal feeling for or interest in the finished piece. It is an affair of time. In this way the "manufactories" as they are called run on. It is not until 1738 that there is any device which is able to make multiple the effort of the worker. This is a flying shuttle, invented by a Lancashire workman and enabling one weaver to do the work of two. This implement, however, has no immediate successors.

Then changes begin to come at a dizzying rate. After the lapse of nearly half a century, following no marked sign of inventive activity but in response to increasing pressure, there suddenly appear within a period of twenty years the most surprising and subversive inventions in the textile field. The first of these, the invention of a weaver himself, is the "spinning-jenny," displacing the one-thread hand spinning-wheel by a frame providing for the operation of a number of spindles side by side. Many years back there had been a rumor from the Continent of a "wicked" device consisting of many spindles and threatening the spinner; but this competitor of the handicraftsman had not made its appearance. Now there was actually a machine of this sort in England. A crowd of outraged spinners break into the house of the inventor, Hargreaves, and smash to pieces his first model. We

are to hear for the first time the far-reaching cry which has by no means lost its significance to the modern ear: "Men, not machines!"

Inventions follow rapidly one upon another, coming as a rule not from the laboratories but from the ranks of workers. There appears an automatic spinning-machine which, if set in motion, can perform unaided the entire operation of spinning (with minor tending). An added contrivance, following the application of horse-power and then water-power, carries the speed of spinners to such a pitch that they become the despair of the weavers. At this point a clergyman interests himself in the mechanical rather than the spiritual salvation of the world and presents it in 1787 with the first power loom, of which the success is immediate. Correlated with these English inventions which play into the hands of the textile industry is the invention of the cotton-gin by an American Yankee, a device which enormously increases, by machinery, the speed at which the seed of the raw cotton can be separated from the fiber, a process carried on up to this time laboriously and by hand.

But it is with the application of steam as power that the modern factory with its tremendous potentialities comes into being. It is from this point on that the human worker is destined to stand on vibrating floors in the midst of the whirl and thunder of immense machines—a roar which blots out not only thought and speech, but which stands for the elimination of the innumerable motions of conscious care and interest that have formerly knit together work and workman. Victorious looms and spindles perform their work without him—or convert him into a mere starter and stopper, a tender of broken threads. Now comes the desertion of the country mill in its leafy isolation; of the country village. And this desertion is a matter of compulsion, for the old hand-

worker, however skilful, however thrifty, cannot compete with the new machines. So rapid is the decrease in the price of yarn and the amount of wages owing to these changes that domestic spinning and weaving are practically driven to the wall. In Bolton for example, according to figures supplied by Cheney, the hand-weavers received 25 shillings a week in 1800; 19 shillings 6 pence in 1810; 9 shillings in 1820 and 5 shillings 6 pence in 1830. These figures tell the story, as well as those showing that a certain quantity of spun yarn commanded in 1786, 38 shillings, at the end of the next decade 19 shillings, and in 1806 only 7.

Along with the development of the great modern workshops with their sombre smoking chimneys goes an enormous and necessary development in the production of coal, steel and iron—words which suggest the present age, bringing to the American mind the grime and stress of Pittsburg. The new steam-engine demanded coal in unprecedented quantities, and at the same time, by a curious interrelation of processes, it was possible to utilize in mining the coal a new type of steam pump. A new steam blast was also applied to the process of smelting iron. It was logical enough that the growing industrial centers with their intense mechanical activities should develop in the main near coal-fields, and it is here that we shall first meet the life and customs of a new age. Into this environment are inducted hosts of men, women and children fresh from country life, detached from the small "plough-land," the cottage and country ways. The numerous crude shacks built hastily about the factories rapidly take on the aspect of "slums," as relatively clean habits together with rustic health are driven to the wall by long hours, bad air, wages below the line of subsistence, and the exploitation of women and children workers.

The numerical proportion of these in the new enter-

prise is somewhat astounding. In 1839 more than half the employees in worsted mills were under eighteen years of age, and of over thirteen thousand adults over ten thousand were women; that is, ten out of every thirteen employees were women in this case. The same general situation may be found in the flax industry where only a third of the workers are adults, these adults being two-thirds women. Earlier in the history of these textile factories the proportion of women and children workers is supposed to have been even higher, although less accurate data is obtainable for this period. The workers were commonly employed twelve, thirteen, fourteen and sometimes fifteen and sixteen hours a day. Not infrequently they had to work part of the night. Many thousands of children also between the ages of six and ten were sent up to the factories without protection, to be completely at the mercy of their employers.

But the system was highly successful in terms of the wealth of nations. It was the golden age of cotton: during the fifty years including the latter quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth the value of English cotton goods exported showed a fabulous advance. And the total value of English exports during this period was trebled. The population of England was also increasing by leaps and bounds—a tendency which philosophers and statisticians struggled to reduce to formula. For example, the population of England increased 43 per cent from 1791 to 1821. Such increase, according to Malthus, the famous student of these matters, was the direct result of a marked increase in the means of subsistence; but he did not see in this an unmitigated good, believing that the population was not only stimulated by plentiful subsistence, but had a tendency to overtake it, until ultimately checked by vice and starvation. Whether or not his theory was actually sound, it was certainly the

case in England that the new prosperity in which men were exulting (some groups of men at least) was attended by a new and appalling poverty, and by a marked physical decadence in the class actually involved in the new mode of work. In the 1830's and 1840's England awoke wide-eyed from the mesmerism of sheer prosperity to register conditions. It was becoming increasingly clear that all was not well with the English people under the new régime.

Probably there is no better introduction to this awakened state of mind together with the facts involved than the following excerpt from the report of an investigating committee of this period—for the English were at last precipitated into a concern with factories perceived as human work-shops. They were putting to them questions:

Q. Have you many lace-mills in your district?

A. I have about thirty mills.

Q. What are the usual hours of work in these mills?

A. The usual hours are, about Nottingham, twenty hours a day, being from four o'clock in the morning till twelve o'clock at night; about Chesterfield, the report I have had from the superintendent is, that they work twenty-four hours, all through the night, in several mills there.

Q. Are there many children and young persons in those mills?

A. The proportion is less in lace-mills than in others, but it is necessary to have some of them; the process of winding and preparing the bobbins and carriage requires children; those that I saw so employed were from ten to fifteen years of age.

Q. Are the children detained in the mills during a considerable period of the day and night?

A. . . . I should say that in most of the mills they do detain them at night; in some of them . . . they are detained all night, in order to be ready when wanted. . . .

Q. Where are those children during the time they are detained in the mill?

A. When detained at night and not employed I am told they are lying about on the floor.

Q. Is it customary to close at eight on Saturday evening in the lace-mills?

A. I think it is.

Q. How then do they compensate for the loss of those four hours' work in those mills?

A. By working all night on Friday. . . .

Again, relative to children:

Q. Is there any possibility of their obtaining education under these circumstances?

A. None whatever, except on Sundays.

After a series of further questions:

Q. You say that it sometimes happens that the children come to the mill at five in the morning, and do not leave till ten at night?

A. It is reported to me that it does so happen about Chesterfield.

These fairly searching questions had been led up to, however, by considerable agitation and some law-making by way of prelude, for England was beginning to doubt the entire adequacy of her policy of *laissez-faire*. Covering an earlier period there are less definite but equally authentic reports to the effect that children were actually though rarely employed at the age of five, frequently at seven, and usually at the ages of nine or ten. They were not uncommonly engaged at this time on twelve-hour shifts; observers comment on their pallor, their thinness and frequent mutilations. It is not surprising that after several decades the working-class was notable for its low stature, and what was defined at the time as "de-

generacy from the national standard." Curvature of the spine, according to reports, was a common complaint among mill children. The flogging of children by overseers was not an infrequent practice, and the maximum of brutality expresses itself in the attaching of the children to their machines by ankle-chains lest they run away—assuming that there was enough life left in them that they still might "run." But hear the capitalist, the employer, the producer of the wealth of nations: "The work of these lively elves seemed to resemble a sport, in which habit gave them a pleasing dexterity"—(so ran the incredible argument of self-interest in its earlier as in its later forms).

The home of an entire family, in this golden age of cotton, was often enough one room. Here might commonly be found a heap of old rags or straw constituting the family bed. Of five thousand families observed in London in 1840 three-fourths were said to have possessed but one room, nearly all of them sleeping as a rule in their shabby and scant day clothes. The shacks of these workers were not only badly built but there was practically no fresh air to be had on account of bad drainage. The streets of these quarters were corrupted by piles of refuse, the habitat of pigs, especially in the Irish districts where the standards of life were lowest. The food which the wages of these workers could buy was necessarily the meanest, commonly the half-rotten food of push-carts: beyond this stood starvation. The birth-rate and death-rate under these conditions were familiarly high—indeed the "social worker" will discern in this environment the entire round of conditions with which he is wont to cope today, including drink, disasters of maternity, disease, and manifold types of degeneration. There was also the dire matter of unemployment in bad seasons, the plight of untrained workers entirely separated from that bit of

life-insurance, the small plot of ground, the "ploughland."

But one of the most serious conditions with respect to this home and family is the chronic absence of the working mother. For the first time in history the tender of fires and of children, the brewer, baker, spinner, weaver, has been drawn as by a mighty suction from her age-old center. There is no initiative here, no instinct of "emancipation" or "self-expression" (to drag the latter term into the most ironic context). Woman has simply followed her perennial work, with the result that the home, with all its faults, its sentimentalities, its assets, is undone. It is now a question not of the country manufactory but the factory itself—its smoking chimneys, its thumping floors, its huddled slums curiously destitute of women thirteen or fourteen hours out of the twenty-four. It actually happens that the father of a family is found occasionally in some shabby or dark room as *hausfrau*, displaced by wife and children in the eager scramble for the cheapest labor. Obviously enough it was impossible in the midst of this disorder, poverty and demoralization to look to such a father for the authority exercised by him in rural life. The entire construction of the household was sharply broken, as by a blow.

And this phenomenon was by no means English, in an exclusive sense, but was to appear in identical or similar form in America, Germany, and even Russia and Japan, as these and other countries were to take their place in the industrial procession. Old ways of doing work were being violently overturned in all advancing countries by a new way. And for the first time in the history of changes the family is hard hit, although its destiny from now on is to present a curious complication of good and bad, since it is to stand heir to unprecedented new advantages, along with the rest of the world. Whatever the

appraisal of the situation, the old home unit, the old unbroken association of family members, is disrupted; first in the working-class, and gradually by a reorganization of the social whole such as the world has never witnessed, it is broken and changed everywhere. The effect is somehow linked with the new individualism of Protestant and citizen, in its broader aspects, yet it is none too easily explained in these or in any terms. For the new movement has carried somehow beyond the bounds of volition and control. For example, the cottage woman of rural England puts on her hat and shawl and goes with her children to an old barn across the way to do her spinning. The act is a natural one, and probably attended by little thought on her part or on the part of others. Yet in reality she has performed a most significant and in many ways dire action. She has crossed a great divide. A full program of work is never to be found by her within the four walls of home again. Her children are never again to know a father, in the old-school sense. Life is recast alike for men and women, although the crass conditions of mere poverty, mere wealth, obscure for a time the more deeply underlying issue.

To the critic, the student of the new age, one thing alone is clear: the masculinization of society is making for its zenith. Here is the triumph of that one who even in the day of Sophocles was beginning to make brilliant claims to material dominion. The peculiarly masculine temper—with its love of organization, of belts and cogs, of contractions and explosions, of speed, of leaping and advancing numbers—is registering a final victory. While it is neither possible nor appropriate in a survey of this character to attempt an analysis of those sex-modifications of personality which may be described as masculine and feminine, it is nevertheless impossible to avoid certain outstanding observations. It must be seen that these

qualities as popularly conceived extend their influence from time to time to entire groups, that they may be classed as dominant and recessive (to borrow convenient terms from the student of heredity). During the childhood of mankind, if we may so express it, the feminine trait or temper impressed its characteristic at least to a degree upon the social whole. Following this we have the long-sustained authority of the masculine one, the patriarch, a régime not without its more delicately illumined types, but dominated throughout by the easily recognizable traits of the male. With the advent of Christianity there is infused into this male régime a something new and mystic, a something productive of "Dark Ages" through which the historian can with difficulty pick his way: the feminine is felt somehow to interpenetrate the shadows, to find expression in a sense, although it does not press forward to the point of articulate form. But the resilience of masculinity asserts itself with a kind of cry of relief in the Renaissance, the Reformation. It has kept its footing all along in the solid forms of Church organization: bewildered man now passes from a depressing atmosphere of mystery into the more commonplace but direct light of midday.

There now rise up the clean-cut, fearless, inquiring forerunners of material science (when atmospheres of rose and blue are no longer potent to bind with spells man's questioning mind). These men will have no more to do with spiritual intimations, with a super-sense, together with the dismaying fallacies and superstitions which gather round it. The avenues of knowledge shall be henceforth eyes, ears, hands—not soul. Observation, experimentation and the development of apparatus speed on. Peering through microscope and telescope the man of science pursues the "fresh examination of details" commended by Francis Bacon. Alchemy with its stimulating

wonders, its bizarre imaginings, is displaced by chemistry; astrology by astronomy. There is an immense clearing away of that which cannot account for itself in practical terms. Yet socially the most dismaying and unpractical results are taking place in the midst of the splendid scheme; that is, it does not entirely make for the joy of human beings. The family and children—in whose interests society itself was first pulled together—are hard hit, even though, through the very disaster to them, there may be an emergence of greater things. We shall see, at least: for we are now led into the presence of the complete dominance of masculine values. There is no secluded spot: the human and divine alike must now make way for the unprecedented triumph of mechanics. Woman is in abeyance. But it is evidently the destiny of man to proceed for the time being along his single trail, that he may write with finality over his typically masculine achievement: *Quod erat demonstrandum*.

We shall see however that woman as a valid person is not to be entirely baffled—or baffled long—in this new environment into which she is somewhat abruptly hurled. It presents to her indeed an adventurous alternative to the other restrictions long imposed upon her. It is not a world of her designing, but she discovers immediate ways of orienting herself in it, though it be man-made. And her first and most interesting reaction is to be found in New England, where the history of factories is affected at the outset by an influx of intelligent unmarried workers, such workers as are able to carry with them into the new situation the power to register conditions.

CHAPTER XX

THE FACTORY WOMAN IN NEW ENGLAND

ALTHOUGH it had been the practical dream of England to convert herself into the workshop of the world, receiving streams of raw material from all incoming ships and exporting the finished product from her whirring factories, this plan with respect to the American colonies had miscarried. The restrictions imposed from this standpoint on American trade were not accepted. The Protestant with his sturdy qualities was to be reckoned with on both sides of the water. His habit of throwing off the encroachments of governments and churches had served him once more in good stead. The American Revolution was simply the last and most striking demonstration of his ability to stand on his own feet. After this last act of his along a typical line of protest, separation, family divorcement, we find him spinning from the same type of mind which we have seen in England the same industrial fabric. In spite of the effort of England to hedge in so far as possible her newly invented devices and the men capable of operating them, an occasional stray worker reached the United States. Supplied in this way with a few stimulating clues the ingenious Yankee mind runs through the processes of a second Industrial Revolution without outside aid.

As a result of this Yankee genius—the genius of the English middle class heightened by necessity and adventure—we have by the close of the first half of the nineteenth century in the United States an industrial régime practically like that of England. We have at the same time, to

all intents and purposes, the era of today. But it happens that the case of woman defines itself more definitely and dramatically in the United States than in England, so that we are better able here than there to trace the next visible step in her social growth. In the first place the proportional number of women workers in the textile industry of the United States is apparently even greater than in England, the ratio of women to men in the cotton factories of the early 1830's being reported as eight or nine to one in some centers. Miss Abbott, summarizing her careful study of this situation, gives the proportion of women workers in these factories during the first half of the nineteenth century as ranging from two-thirds to nine-tenths of the total operatives, and this extensive employment of women in the United States is repeatedly commented on by English travellers, one of whom marvels at the large number of women weavers in New England, at the same time expressing his astonishment at "their independence in dealing with their employers"—a comment decidedly supported by their later history. For the women operatives in the factories of New England were not only more numerous than those employed in the textile factories of the mother country, they were of a different class, and their entrance into the industrial world marks a distinct step in the enfranchisement of thinking women.

For some curious reason—probably because the story of the worker is imperfectly recorded anywhere—the American great-grandmother is commonly conceived in terms of the most old-fashioned sentiment, as of a race of great-grandmothers indissolubly linked with lavender and old lace and leading lives peculiarly domestic, plastic and restricted (in spite of a sturdy household program). But to think in this way exclusively is not only to part from reality but to miss some of the most delightfully

spirited passages in the life of American womankind. If we will but explore the right type of narrative we shall find in the 1820's and the 1830's a record of young women who are not only the forerunners of the most progressive women, but who are positively such women in their own day and in their own right and without the sustaining atmosphere of public sentiment which can be counted on (up to a point) today. These women not only in aim and spirit but in method as well exhibit a capacity for successful protest, for defining their own status, which is the key-note of the later "woman movement" in northern civilizations. It is interesting and important to remember that it is in the field of industry and not in politics that this first note is struck; also that it is in the United States.

Turning to the cotton factories of New England, and particularly to those of Lowell, we find that the very large majority of operatives here are women, unmarried and American-born. Mainly between sixteen and twenty-five years of age, they make up over eighty per cent of the population of the city, and constitute a unique community deserving especial study. They are actually girls of the most enterprising Colonial stock, girls who would be found in modern times in college courses and in the professions; and they appear to be somewhat impatient of the unorganized domestic duties carried on without pay. Moreover, at a time when young men are beginning to go West, they are thirsting for adventure. It was a race of Colonial adventurers who had borne them, and blood still told.

Some such program as the following, the record of a day's work from the diary of one Abigail Foote of Connecticut (as reported by Mrs. Earl), although dated 1775 probably continued to be descriptive of home activities in the early 1800's:

Fix'd gown for Prude,—Mend Mother's Riding-hood,—
Spun short thread,—Fix'd two gowns for Welsh's girls,—
Carded tow,—Spun linen,—Worked on cheese-basket,—
Hatchel'd flax with Hannah, we did 51 lbs. apiece,—pleated
and ironed,—Read a sermon of Doddridge's,—Spooled a
piece,—Milked the cows,—Spun linen, did 50 knots,—Made a
broom of Guinea wheat straw,—Spun thread to whiten,—Set
a red dye,—Had [two scholars from Mrs. Taylor's,—(And
so on through the scouring of the pewter).

Against this typically domestic program it was now possible to set by way of comparison the rather thrilling opportunities that were opening up in such places as Lowell, Massachusetts. This factory community (destined to receive in due time an influx of illiterate Irish), had been touched in its first days by an idealism borrowed from New Lanark, Scotland, the home of the model establishment of the reformer, Robert Owen, and it stood out somewhat from the factories farther south, with their English immigrants and family system. The Abigails of New England began to wake up to new chances, better ones than were offered even by the openings to teach school. In the new factory work one received more pay; and besides this there was the glamour not only of a new age but machinery itself. For nothing corresponding to the English slum existed in these first days in Lowell, although the tenement was promptly developing in Rhode Island and other localities following the example of Fall River, though in somewhat less desperate form, and presenting the English problems of family demoralization and child labor.

It is quite evident, in the accounts of the first factory girls of Lowell, that the charm of the new adventure was uppermost, and that the undesirable factors actually existent in the situation did not appear at the outset. The majority of the girls were in the early twenties, and being

provided for by "company" boarding-houses, they experienced for the first time that appeal of close association which was to become one of the marked attractions of the college life to open up later on. They were strikingly like college girls in a variety of ways, even bettering the average type of today in intellectual ardor. So prone were they to read while working at their machines that the practice had to be explicitly forbidden. Following this prohibition they held firmly to their Bibles until these were confiscated along with their other books. There were debating clubs, there were lending libraries and improvement associations; and above all—actually there in the "City of Spindles"—were the Lyceum courses which brought as lecturers such men as John Quincy Adams, Edward Everett and Ralph Waldo Emerson. The girls themselves published a paper called the "Lowell Offering," and there rose up among them one talented young woman not to be forgotten in the person of Lucy Larcom, the poet. These surprising factory girls were interested in charities, education, missions, the problems of the hour. It was characteristic of their tone and spirit that they questioned the morality of working on cotton picked by slave labor. For the question of slavery was coming more and more to the fore as a moving issue, and it was one with which American women were from the first vitally concerned.

But the Lowell girls were after all, and apart from these great issues, just human girls, who enjoyed going back to the more restricted atmosphere of their small home towns with the air of the "city" upon them, with stylish clothes, and with real cash earnings which might be saved in part for a day of marriage. Moreover it was easier to get good teaching jobs when one worked at Lowell, which became a sort of bureau of employment because it was so soon recognized by those who wished to hire

women that there was to be found here the pick of New England.

The waking up of these girls to the wrong industrial conditions under which they were working was, however, only a question of time, and not a long time at that. When they had sufficiently emerged from the first rosy light of adventure to realize their situation from a practical standpoint they immediately entered into a vigorous protest against the long hours, low wages and unsatisfactory conditions which were to stand from that time on as industrial abuses. This new attitude was part of a class-awakening on the part of the American wage-earner everywhere, but it is interesting to observe that the girl operatives did not wait to lean on others. And they put into their first spirited crusade the superior character which was theirs.

The first small strike of girl workers, including in this case both boys and girls and concerning itself with so slight a point as the change of dinner hour from twelve to one, is worthy of mention only because of the fact that it is the first strike involving women. Following this is a salient event in the history of womankind—their first important united protest against oppression and injustice, cast into the mold of bold practical action. This historic event takes place in Dover, Massachusetts, (the same year as a like disturbance in Paterson, New Jersey), and on this occasion four hundred factory workers march out in a formal procession in rebellion against wrong conditions.

(Who among Dover girls could
Ever bear
The shocking fate of slaves to share?)

These same daughters of freemen, as they justly called themselves, struck again five or six years later nearly

eight hundred strong as a protest against a wage-cut, and although the result was that new applicants for work were forced to sign a pledge that they would not "engage in any combination whereby the work may be impeded or the company's interest in any way injured" the spirit of the strikers was not destroyed, and it was to break out in new forms. "However freely the epithet of factory slaves may be bestowed upon us, we will never deserve it by a base and cringing submission to proud wealth and haughty insolence," cry these daughters of the Protestant, the Puritan, the American Independent. It is interesting to see in this first note struck the protest of the true worker, the indignant human being. No sentimental appeal is here made on the grounds of sex; no sense of discrimination is so much as hinted. It is as factory workers, in the name of the job and its worth, in the name of their human right to a just wage and right conditions, that this and other groups take the first steps in the direction of resistance through organization, although association for the protection of "female workers" is to follow shortly.

But the most significant and inspiring strike of this first period takes place naturally enough in Lowell, the "City of Spindles"—whose girl workers have ceased to pursue quite so ardently the privilege of reading books, and who are beginning to exhibit a much more realistic interest in actual conditions. This great strike, with fine logic, is led by a Dover girl who has found work in the Lowell factories. Individually dismissed for her attempt to drive an industrial bargain, she waves her poke-bonnet as a pre-arranged signal to her fellow-workers within. Two thousand of them, or nearly that, march out into the streets of Lowell where their parade is made notable by songs, speeches and stirring proclamations.

"As our fathers resisted unto blood the lordly avarice of the British ministry," they cry, "so we, their daughters,

never will wear the yoke which has been prepared for us."

More picturesquely:

Oh, isn't it a pity that such a pretty girl as I
Should be sent to the factory to pine away and die?
Oh! I cannot be a slave,
For I'm so fond of liberty
That I cannot be a slave.

One of the several resolutions at the time of this strike is impressive, ushering in with unconscious dignity a new era for womankind—disclosing the profound, the hidden meaning of the current age with all its hardships:

"Resolved, That none of us will go back unless they receive us all as one."

The results of the many strikes among women at this time, which have for their aim as a rule the raising of wages and the shortening of hours, cannot be stated in terms of their specific objects, which were commonly lost. These strikes, occurring among other types of textile-workers and sewing-women than those of the factory—for example, the Tailoresses of New York, who struck sixteen thousand strong to secure a wage-scale—these protests and uprisings were rapidly developing a class consciousness among women workers which inclined them to trade organization and to a real grasp of the industrial conditions which concerned their work. The strike therefore was not futile even when it was lost, for it resulted not only in numerous and short-lived local organizations but in certain more vigorous ones like that of Lowell—the "Female Labor Reform Association" of textile workers, of which the activities were modern and effective. As early as 1845 we find this association employing methods adopted by the most experienced and successful suffragists of a later day.

The object of these affiliated workers was to improve

working-conditions for women, especially in Lowell, and under the guidance of its able president we see the Association conducting legislative hearings, at which it testifies to the impropriety of conditions as they are, and bringing about the first government investigation along these lines. One of its most important petitions was for a ten hour law, and it was astute enough to maintain a press committee for the purpose of contradicting false statements concerning mill operatives and regularly corresponding with a paper devoted to labor interests, "The Voice of Industry." The association also published factory tracts to promote its cause, and worked in addition through letters to papers, speeches and personal correspondence. It even went so far on one occasion as to attack politically a legislator who had been false to his trust at a point of contact with labor issues, thus anticipating militant suffrage methods by nearly half a century. On this occasion the Lowell women actually secured the defeat of their adversary at the polls.

But the ever-active Tailoresses of New York, organized in 1825, outdistance their Massachusetts sisters by an actual move in the direction of woman suffrage. Their enterprising secretary not only demands higher wages for women workers (in 1831), but the right to vote—claims commented on by the Boston Transcript as "clamorous and unfeminine declarations of personal rights, which it is obvious a wise Providence never destined her to exercise." It may be noted that the tailoresses of Baltimore, Philadelphia and Boston were engaged in similar industrial battles, and other especially strong organizations were to be found in the field of shoe-binders, particularly in Lynn, Massachusetts. Everywhere woman labor was cheap labor, everywhere hours were long and pay poor. Everywhere too, in spite of repeated efforts and notable exceptions, the organization of women was

difficult, prone to disintegration. There existed also the problem of child labor, although this was somewhat deferred in Waltham and Lowell owing to the system of housing workers which did not lend itself to the housing of the family group as being a too expensive, too decent mode of living. But child labor prevailed in the majority of American industrial centers as in England, carrying in its wake the same familiar evils and abuses. In short, the Industrial Revolution had had its will in the United States as elsewhere, and Western civilization, with the Anglo-Saxon in the lead, was confronted by new problems, problems penetrating this time into the very heart of family life.

In England one reform movement after another, acting through legislation, attempted to cope with the poverty which was as conspicuous a result of the new day as the rise of wealth. While the value of property per head was said to have advanced from 71 to 167 pounds from 1750 to 1800, the poor rate, the rate of necessary relief, showed an even greater rise, advancing from 3 shillings 7 pence per head to 8 shillings 11 pence per head between 1760 and 1803; in 1818 it had reached 13 shillings 3 pence. There were also repeated acts now in the field of protective legislation, for English complaisancy, together with its philosophic trust in the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, was profoundly shaken. But there were many who believed that remedial measures like these were efforts to sweep back the sea. With such as these there flared up new philosophies which reinterpreted life and history in terms of wealth and its distribution. The doctrines of Socialism, imported into England from Germany and France, stood for a more fundamental reorganization of capital and labor, and the case of the worker was forced into the attention of a society which had thought for centuries in terms of a ruling-class. While the Socialists were charged

from the outset with the holding of views disruptive of the home, they were among the first squarely to recognize the demoralization of the home by the new plan of labor, as they were among the first to declare the equality of men and women in their programs and manifestos.

For the Socialists were right in their realization that the position of woman was altered by no theory or ideal, (at least directly) but by events themselves not to be refuted, and watching and noting the worker rather than the lady they were able to anticipate certain modern attitudes and recognitions. They were able to see her for example as one with a subject and neglected class, conformed to its psychology of submission rather than to sex, and possessed of no inferiority not easily accounted for in terms of serfdom. They were also influential in helping to sweep away the parasitic ideal for womankind, entering their protests against the lady in common with other non-productive persons, and insisting upon the capacity of every human being as a valid worker; also upon the right of each to his place in the scheme of work. In the United States as elsewhere this proved to be a stimulating approach to the solution of social problems, although the Socialist program was never to become a strong factor here in political life.

American woman, then, in common with her English fellows, is hurled from home industry into the processes of a new age; but it must be strongly borne in mind that she is not through this action hurled into industrial work. She has been perpetually productive except as lady (whose unique pose and position are treated in a following chapter); and it has apparently never occurred to anyone that she was in the least incapacitated for work by child-rearing and child-bearing. As spinner, weaver, cook and mistress of a wide variety of household

crafts with processes tracing back to the raw material, she has led a notably productive life, and one commonly accomplished with a large family to be provided for. In short, she has not intruded upon man's work or taken away his industrial opportunity with the rise of factories, as is sometimes assumed, since there are few phases of work, and certainly of textile work, to which she is not able to lay prior claim. Moreover the belief in her increasing numerical strength in the manufacturing field must be seen as a most interesting popular fallacy, as figures prove. In the cotton industry, for example, the leading industry of the new age of machines, it may be shown that there has been a steady decrease of women operatives and a steady increase of men, with the result that in the twentieth century men outnumber women, whereas in the 1830's, according to Miss Abbott, women constituted decidedly over three-fourths of the total body of workers in this field. It is even more interesting to regard the figures covering all manufacture rather than one specific industry, which show that in 1850 women constituted 24 per cent of the operatives in manufacturing, whereas in 1905 they constituted only 19 per cent of the total body, having actually lost in this field of work in the very half century of their supposed advance—facts easily explained in terms of an industrial adjustment to be considered later on.

It may be said on the whole of American factory woman, by way of conclusion, that she has proved herself strong enough in the main to divert the attention from such matters as broken homes, child labor, unequal pay—considerations especially dominant in industrial England—and to suggest instead the possibility of a new day for woman. Whatever else is in store for her she has passed before our eyes into a kind of practical reality and out of an historic mist. With respect to the Industrial Revo-

lution—there is something in it for her, in spite of the human cost, the immediate pressures. Here is a break-up of captivity, a release for the home-bound woman into a life made up of a mass of her fellow-beings. In the whirl of good and evil consequences it is impossible—even at the present hour—to predict the issue.

Meanwhile the home itself has not been entirely passed over by the great age of devices. Two events of extreme importance are the invention of the sewing-machine, the model of Elias Howe, in 1846; in 1851 that great gift to all textile workers, the "Singer." If as rumor has it the wife of Howe pulled through his invention to a point of efficacy we may see the hand of woman contributing to her own salvation. Unfortunately, however, the advent of the sewing-machine did not mean the coming of salvation only. It was the advent at the same time of the ornate, the inane and needless—of infinite tucks and ruffles, of the efflorescence of that one whom we shall study in a following chapter as *The Lady*. For the same period which brings forth the valiant minority of the self-supporting, is also the period (as we are about to see) of the fainting lady; the lady of absurd attire; the lady of decadence.

If we are moved to ask how these two types, so excessively unlike, were related, the answer is that to all intents and purposes they were not related at all! From a strictly social standpoint the factory-worker—after the first Lowell romance—was non-existent. She was not written about, she was not thought about or even protested against (like her later suffrage sister) except as she dared to express herself now and then in a walk-out. She does not appear in the pages of *Godey's Lady's Book*, that rare chronicle of the day. In short, the lady was, the worker was not. All that might be held out to the worker as a prospect of ultimate bliss was that she

might herself be a lady sometime, as useless as she, as like a colored plate—a remote dream kept within the realm of possibility by the hope of marriage.

Dominated by this ideal the “refined” home in America during the first half of the nineteenth century, and indefinitely later, resembled as only an imitation could resemble the standard life of England—of eighteenth century temper. But for the germ of rebellion appearing first in the industrial camp but breaking more generally upon the public mind through the audacities of a suffrage movement, the Singer sewing-machine might have continued to hum out its infinite tucks and ruffles, the fingers of weak ladies might have continued to commit artistic outrages in the form of bibs and tidies—unrebuked. But for those who had ears to hear a bugle note had sounded; the lady herself in due time was to drop her wearying artifices and march out with the rest. These artifices, however, subtly rooted in historic foibles, were to prove astonishingly resistant for a time in one so weak as the lady was supposed to be.

CHAPTER XXI

THE DECADENCE OF THE LADY

THE history of human life, its tendencies and institutions, is continually carried over in the words of daily speech, not so much perhaps in the downright meanings as in the haunting overtones—so difficult of translation from one tongue into another. This is especially true of the word “lady,” rich in suggestions pointing to an historic pageant, to tableaux of finished grace; at the same time, as uttered in the crisp air of modern life, hinting at standards a bit insipid and outworn. It is the word “woman” and not “lady” which is able to stand up under the trying glare of modern times, not only holding its own but actually advancing, where the word “lady” gathers to itself a faint touch of irony, a disparaging overtone, particularly in American life. To the devout feminist the unflattering implications of the word “lady” are chiefly economic, pointing as they do to a thoroughly parasitic person, indeed to the chief incarnation among humankind of the parasitic ideal.

Yet there was certainly a day—and a long one—when the lady had her use. There was a day when the poetry of life was partly kept alive by her, when she bestowed upon her world a veritable glamour which continually helped to lift it above the tone of man’s rather bloody and crude undertakings. This was particularly true in feudal Europe where she was consciously at work on the manners of society, on gracious modes of love, and where she must be seen to a degree as man’s collaborator in the production of civilization. She was also a revivifying factor in the Renaissance, frequently ambitious in the field of learning, a patron of the arts, and given to political rôles. When

she embroidered she turned out fabrics of the most arresting beauty and distinction (a point to be remembered for comparative purposes later on). She was delightfully expressive in innumerable cases, although she had no footing. Quite commonly she had the vivacious charm of a work of art, if not a valid person. In that last genuine habitat, her salon, she carried conversation, wit and political intrigue to such a pitch as almost to obscure her really ignominious relation to the social whole.

It is with a certain tenderness of regret, then, that we note the decadence, the cheapening and the weakening of a type that had its day, even though in the steady eyes of modern woman it was a poor day indeed. At the same time it is with a feeling of relief that we pass out of the atmosphere of studied postures and artificial lighting increasingly necessary to the existence of the lady as such—prepared to take our chances on the valid qualities that survive in any light. With her trappings grown at last a bit tawdry and her culture thin, it is easier to avoid the refinement of her seduction and to see her as she is—and as she always was, in a fundamental sense. To this we are not able to add “as she always will be,” for it is more than possible that, as a formal type, she will not persist. Is she not already aligned with that “phantom caravan” of kings and princes steadily vanishing from a world that no longer makes room for such special persons?

Historically speaking the lady must be recognized as one of the most universal and finished of man’s creations. Formed in the image and likeness of his desires, she appears at an early hour in the patriarchate, or period of man-rule, not long after the subjection of her masterful and primitive sister. Because she is primarily useful as the mother of legitimate heirs, as we have already seen, she is bred to all kinds of reserves and surrounded by all kinds of protections, to the end that she may be above all

“pure.” There is only one kind of virtue required of her, among the whole round of virtues, and that is the virtue of chastity or that pertaining exclusively to the sex-relation. It is not important that she be honest, or intelligent, or courageous. Indeed these qualities are frequently seen to stand in the way of her single purpose and to be distinctly undesirable. Yet, for all this, the lady is by no means a simple instrument, but one of many stops. All of her harmonies, however, are designed almost exclusively for the ear of man. One of her formal functions is to preserve the traditions and sentiments of the upper class, of caste. She is responsible for its rejections and exclusions; she is also expected to advance its interests at need by match-making and political maneuvers. At moments, as we have seen, she is able to take over with zest and talent the advantages of her position. In the absence of these moments there remain to her the passive and much celebrated virtues of grace, charm, beauty. In the field of companionship she is easily outdistanced by such freewomen as, for example, the *Hetairæ* of Greece. In conformity, taste and fidelity, the support of institutions, she is in the main unchallenged: the chaste, the gracious, the world-pleasing feminine, playing her inimitable rôle—which is of itself imitation.

But the question which now concerns us is the position of the lady in an age stirred by new forces, industrial and social. What is to become of this aristocratic person with her carefully poised attitude and general finesse of design—what does become of her? In attempting to paint her portrait in an age soon to be tempered by the smoke of factory chimneys and steam-engines we discover, fortunately, that she has become at last a discussed, a much-talked-of person. As the eighteenth century draws to a close and the nineteenth advances the lady is being continually defined and elucidated. Her

platform is declared. The education which is to nourish and produce her is anxiously reviewed.—Is it possible that she is being insisted on so consciously because for the first time in history she is actually in the presence of the elements that make for her undoing? Or is it that an aspiring middle class is trying to find out just how she is created, how the thing is done? In any case we shall hasten to regard her through the eyes of her contemporaries, her interpreters and champions:

“I wish my Endora to be able to accompany her voice agreeably on the harp” writes a mother of the period. “I wish that she may play agreeably on the piano-forte; that she may know enough of drawing to feel pleasure from the sight and from the examination of the finest pictures of the great painters, that she may be able to draw a flower that happens to please her; and that she may unite in her dress elegance and simplicity.”

“In the education of females” writes a philosopher of the day (in the tone of *Everyman*) “no motive has greater influence than the thought of what people will say of them.” Again, in this same chapter (entitled with considerable appropriateness, “Peculiarities respecting the Education of Females”), the author offers the following advice: “In training young women, exhibit everything to them in an agreeable light; and in particular suffer them not to imagine that there can be any pain in doing what is right. Is it painful for a young woman to make herself amiable in order to be loved, to make herself estimable in order to be esteemed, to behave honorably in order to be honored?” In another passage the writer reminds us that “females have a flexible tongue, and acquire more easily than males the use of speech; their voice is sweeter; and they talk more. A man says what he knows; a woman, what is agreeable; knowledge is necessary to the former; taste is sufficient to the latter.” The

author emphasizes the importance of remembering that "a girl who loves her mother or her governess, will work the whole day at her side without wearying, provided she be allowed to prattle, which is her favorite amusement."

But the project of producing the lady, in spite of innumerable suggestions and outlines, is not an easy one. It is a difficult course to steer. "Much prudence and ability are requisite to conduct properly a young woman's literary education," declares Miss Maria Edgeworth.

"Her imagination must not be raised above the taste for necessary occupations, or the numerous small but trifling pleasures of domestic life: her mind must be enlarged, yet the delicacy of her manners must be preserved: her knowledge must be various and her powers of reasoning unawed by authority; yet she must *habitually* feel that nice sense of propriety, which is at once the guard and charm of every feminine virtue."

The following passage from the pen of "A Lady of Distinction," presented in the form of womanly advice, serves to depict the ideal wife in whom these processes of education have achieved their end. As we shall see we have even parted company here with the modicum of good sense permitted by Miss Edgeworth:

"The most perfect and implicit faith in the superiority of a husband's judgment, and the most absolute obedience to his desires, is not only the conduct that will ensure the greatest success, but will give the most entire satisfaction. It will take from you a thousand cares, which would have answered to no purpose; it will relieve you from a weight of thought that would be very painful, and in no way profitable. . . . I have told you how you may, and how people who are married do, get a likeness of countenance; and in that I have done it. You will understand me, that by often looking at your husband's face, by smiling on the occasions that he does, by

frowning on those things which make him frown, and by viewing all things in the light in which he does, you will acquire that likeness of countenance which it is an honor to possess, because it is a testimony of love. . . . When your temper and your thoughts are formed upon those of your husband, according to the plan which I have laid down, you will perceive that you have no will, no pleasure, but what is also his. This is the character the wife of prudence would be apt to assume; she would make herself the mirror, to show, unaltered, and without aggravation, diminution or distortion, the thoughts, the sentiments, and the resolutions of her husband. She would have no particular design, no opinion, no thought, no passion, no approbation, no dislike, but what would be conformable to his own judgment."

An impressive touch in this recommended program is the assurance, in the matter of likeness of countenance, that the writer has "done it" herself.

But it is not alone in England that the lady is reduced to so nice a formula. Indeed the father of feminine interpretation in its seventeenth century variations is to be found in France. We have already touched upon the ideal of woman set up by that great champion of "liberty, equality and fraternity," Rousseau—an avowal which fired the mind of Mary Wollstonecraft to the production of her revolutionary book on the rights of women.

"Woman is especially constituted to please man" writes the great French philosopher, and he goes on to say that the whole education of women ought thus to be relative to men. "To please them," he writes, "to be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honored by them, to educate them when young, to care for them when grown, to counsel them, to console them, and to make life agreeable and sweet to them—these are the duties of women at all times, and what should be taught them from their infancy."

Rousseau finds in dependence "a state natural to women," and urges that they be taught to conquer all their whims in order to subject them to the wills of others. "As long as they live," he insists, "they will be subject to the most continual and most severe restraint—that which is imposed by the laws of decorum."

"Every daughter should have the religion of her mother, and every wife that of her husband," he goes on to say. "As they are not in a condition to judge for themselves, women should receive the decision of fathers and husbands as they would the decision of the Church." "Authority ought to regulate the religion of women." He refers repeatedly (in this or other terms) to "the primacy which nature gives to the husband." Of woman: "Her dignity is in leading a retired life; her glory is in the esteem of her husband."

The whole is Greek enough—it is matter which we have met before; but if we examine the situation a little more closely we shall find that the lady with whom we have to do has fallen into a physical and mental inertia which is not Greek: she is enfeebled and depleted. She faints, she reclines on sofas, her pallor is her distinction. According to Balzac she inclines to a horizontal posture. She has somehow declined in vitality and general tone of well-being. And this is actually the case not only in France and England, but in the New World. Certainly one might have supposed that the case would be different here; that the proximity of the frontier would have fended off decadent tendencies. Curiously enough this is by no means the situation, for the American lady is as inert, as badly educated and as insipid as her English sisters. A series of "female seminaries" have adopted the familiar formula. American girls are producing the same weak water colors and embroidery and tunes on the piano (or other instruments) that go into the make-up of their

"feminine charm" in another hemisphere. As they pass into the Victorian period it is almost eerie to discover that—with an ocean between them—they are bringing forth an analagous crop of tidies, pin-cushions and tasselled ornaments.

But it is possible to be specific. There is no better record of the case of the lady anywhere than that which may be followed in that magazine described by an admiring contemporary as being "by all odds the best magazine of its kind we have any knowledge of." "Even the most fastidious in their taste for the refined," he further declares of this remarkable sheet "will hardly be able to 'pick flaws' in reading matter, or its fashions and embellishments." The reference is to *Godey's Lady's Book*, whose proud boast during the time of the Civil War was that it had had for thirty-four years the largest circulation of any magazine in America. This fact has its peculiar eloquence, and it aligns the women of the United States with the lady of decadence of older civilizations.

Aside from the fashions naturally to be expected in a monthly of this character, the dominant theme of *Godey's Lady's Book* is unquestionably "fancy work," of which various types with their complex stitches serve as inspiration in every number for large illustrative plates. These plates usually occupy one full page at least, frequently one plate will occupy two pages, and they are commonly expensive reproductions in full color. The frontispiece of an entire number may be a fringed pillow the picture of which is printed in scarlet and gold, occupying the entire page. Other pages will set forth one after another a braided bib, a mat for flowers in worsted, a design for a lace parasol, a composition in squares for patchwork. A netted ornamental ruff of worsted to go round a vegetable dish, a jacket of beaded crochet-work,

with tassels, to enclose a flower-pot (if these can be set up in the imagination), pin-cushions bearing mottoes wrought in beads and pins—these are some of the enterprises in the field of beauty proposed for lady's fingers. It is almost impossible to contemplate these things without depression, especially as one sets them in almost unbearable juxtaposition to the beautiful fabrics and embroideries of the Middle Ages with their epic dignity and grace.

But the artistic poverty of what may be called the "art-work" of *Godey's Lady's Book* is by no means greater than that of the abundant "poetry," the recurrent printed music and fiction, modestly following a frontispiece of tidies, and succeeded by repeated outbursts of crochet-work, patterns for bonnets, bags and knitted slippers. Remembering the fruitful beauty of preceding centuries and the relation of the lady to it one is hard pressed to hold to the idea of progress. The lifeless insipidity of the stories, the mawkish temper of the verse with its weak religious tendency, the sentimentality of the songs—all these betray an entire loss of touch with life as a reality, a bankruptcy in art. But the word "bankrupt" after all is incorrectly used. The impression here is one of more deliberate falsification, and for reasons. This is the propaganda of the lady: not art, or poetry or music, but a show of sensibility, the prescribed sensibility which a lady must acquire or assume if she is to play her rôle. These are the thoughts and feelings on which the lady feeds to make her what she is. In one of the columns of the magazine in question we are fortunate enough to find the inevitable portrait: the lady of America. It is positively dismaying to see how she has lost the legitimate hardihood of her own history, and taken on her era, as if she had been given no possible advantage through the break with an effete world:

"There is a beauty in the helplessness of woman. The clinging trust which searches for extraneous support, is graceful and touching. Timidity is the attribute of her sex; but to herself it is not without its dangers, its inconveniences, and its sufferings. Her first effort at comparative freedom is bitter enough; for the delicate mind shrinks from every unaccustomed contact; and the warm and gushing heart closes itself, like the blossom of the sensitive plant, at every approach. Man at once determines his position, and asserts his place; woman has hers to seek; and alas, I fear me that, however she may appear to turn a calm brow and a quiet lip to the crowd through which she makes her way, that brow throbs and that lip quivers, to the last, until, like a wounded bird, she can once more wing her way to that tranquil home where the drooping head will be fondly raised, and the fluttering heart laid to rest!"

Has it agreed with woman so badly, indeed, to live in actual detachment from the affairs of men for centuries? Is it possible that we are confronted here not as the suffragist has fondly supposed by man's low estimate of woman, but by the thing itself—a regrettable decadence, a fading out of value? Is a feeble sensibility all that is left of feminine uniqueness, of the temper of half the race? Or (if no such thing exists) is this the issue for half of a race of mutual human beings? In the absence of free motion (both of mind and body), has there been a creeping and almost impalpable deterioration of the captive, a condition indisputable, like something laid bare before the very eyes? Woman at last accepted—and on evidence—as mentally limited, physically infirm and a social ward?

In any case the lady as we find her toward the close of the eighteenth century and through the early Victorian period is a type of lamentable weakness and not to be compared with the lady of former periods. The limited Greek wife, even, with her physical well-being, her poise and grace of costume; the stoical Roman wife meeting the demands of statehood in the imperial era with quietude

and nerve, embracing personal sacrifice; the lady abbess with her fine sweep of executive ability, occasionally of mystic vision; the lady of the salon with her political finesse and sparkle—in the presence of all these ladies reading into their rôles at least a relative value, we are reduced to baffling silence as we contemplate this half-ill, suggestible and self-conscious person who has become to the English-speaking world of her day a “female.”

We are forced to ask ourselves—just what has happened?

In the first place it must be recognized that the center of society seen as a whole has shifted. Aristocratic culture, advanced especially in Romance countries to a point of considerable perfection along its own lines, has been assailed by a northern movement, a movement ultimating in the tendencies of democracy and the English Puritan. Under the new type of leadership the things of art and taste are not only attacked by a kind of wild and rugged striving for the right, as opposed to the agreeable, but also by the fact that the social and moral pace is now actually set by a new class of people. They are a hard-working class in the main who are not habituated to the graces of life, to fine things. They are the new barbarians. Moreover they have in connection with these fine things what we would call today a “complex.” The veritable beauty of these things has come to be associated in their minds with abominable luxury and loose living—at their expense. Now that they are able to buy their way up the social ladder, being strongly commercial and industrious, they are prepared to take along with them their own scheme of values. The idea is that they will express themselves and not someone else—and they do! Yet it is almost inevitable that they should be at the same time keenly imitative, upon their entrance into a great world in which they still feel awkward.

It is at this point that some light may be thrown on the lady's case, her species being heavily recruited just here from the ranks of the bourgeois or rising middle class. The ambition of this class (aside from its more reputable aims) is both power and money. It aspires to advantage, prestige, superiority. One of its feasible maneuvers is to turn its wife into a lady. She shall become the white-handed flower of leisure, which declares a man a gentleman; which proclaims that he has touched the social goal. She must somehow differentiate herself from the stocky and thickset hausfrau who works because she must; who harks back frequently to a hardy peasant stock. It is too late to conform the wife herself to the exquisite model, partly because it is impossible for her to repress in herself, so late, good sense, good health, on the whole a hearty and indelicate well-being and penchant for work. It is yet possible to train the daughters, to make of them true ladies. It is possible to set before their as yet unformed appetites the more dainty menu of the French (if they are English or American), the painting of flowers in water-color, dancing, playing on the harpsichord, embroidery. It is especially important, in order that the new ground be made, that everything they learn be useless.

In support of this program there appears at this hour as if by magic the factory and its products. One after another and in rapid sequence the kind of things that had formerly to be made at home may be secured abroad. Woman is relieved of her time-honored task of weaving and spinning, if she is a lady and has not had to follow them into the factory thunder. The pitiable aspect of her fancy-work, the elaborate nothingness of her tidies and embroideries we have seen. Her work is proportionately ornate as it is useless. Bred to the pressure of necessity and not the things of art, her mind meanders aimlessly

through the mazes of her leisure; but she continues to stitch, stitch, stitch—by a habit of the fingers. She has abundant time now to study such translations from the French as *The Art of Being Easy at all Times and in all Places, written chiefly for the Use of a Lady of Quality*, a typical discourse cited by Mrs. Putnam in her admirable interpretation of the lady's case. This and other books bringing the etiquette of the lady into accord with a given social phase or period enable the aspiring one to cast her conduct with even more nicety into a popular mould.

It is interesting to discover, in the writings of this period, a continual protest against the unwillingness of women to nurse their children. Whether or not this arose in an aversion to all things drawing upon vitality, or in the weak pursuit of pleasure at the expense of all useful functioning, it is impossible to say. And just here we may remind ourselves that decadence had assailed the entire class of hereditary culture, men and women alike, so that the lady's inferiority cannot be explained alone in terms of the bourgeois group. The older social order with its traditions was on the wane, and its temporary restoration in France and England had rather revived its superficialities and vices than its old motif and temper. The fashionable rôle for both men and women was extremely thin. Immorality was somewhat avoided in the bourgeois group, but triviality was retained in the lady's case. The situation earlier in the eighteenth century and continuing with little variation was well suggested in the comment of Defoe, who declared that it was considered "below a lady of quality to trouble her selfe in the nursery, as 'tis below the gentleman of quality to trouble himselfe with a library." Especially in England it was a régime of nurses and tutors, so that the lady who had no part in the affairs of men in a civic sense could not

save herself on her maternal record. Of Defoe it should be said in passing that his attitude was not merely sentimental, but that he was one of the earliest voices to insist that all the world was mistaken in its "practices about women," for he professed himself unable to believe that God Almighty had ever furnished them with such charms and assets, "with souls capable of the same accomplishments with men," as he put it boldly, "all to be only stewards of our Houses, Cooks and Slaves."

As to the lady, it has come to pass, then, in the long unfoldment of society, that the one-time "loaf-giver," the charitable one, the genius of a feudal order, has dropped into a washed-out imitation of her former gracious self. In the main she is a vestige of other times and attitudes: the gentleman who was staged with her for stately or heroic rôles does not exist, she is left to the carrying on of a tradition which grows fainter every day. It does not follow, however, that there shall not issue forth from the ranks of ladies the veritable human being. For the lady, after all, is a rôle and not a person. We shall see that there is to be written for her in common with all other women a new score.

CHAPTER XXII

THE CAMPAIGN FOR EQUALITY

IN a chapter on the Rights of Man we have seen the principle of political equality ardently applied to the affairs of half the human race in the most progressive nations. In the present chapter we shall see this notable eighteenth century ideal extended to cover the case of neglected woman, that citizen overlooked in the reorganization of society according to the new equilitarian plan. In the case of woman it is a question of bringing forth the implications of a doctrine, a system, already conceived and announced by the most prophetic voices among masculinekind, and established as law by recourse to the time-honored masculine method of aggression and bloodshed (with varying degree of violence according to the racial temperaments involved). Woman is able thus to take over a conception ready-made, a new program of social justice which her individual vision throws into fresh relation to her case. It may be said of her indeed that she hastens along the accepted trail of progress like a belated man, a trail defined and beaten smooth by the passage of many feet. The outstanding difference between her campaign and that of her men predecessors however is worthy of comment. She is the first class in history to accomplish a major action of the kind in question without bloodshed; and she attains her goal also in the face of a startling economic handicap—dependence in the large majority of cases upon the very adversary with whom she is crossing swords.

It may be regarded as natural enough, in view of its tone and history, that American society, the society of the

United States, should have served as a starting-point for the practically universal campaign making for the removal of woman's subject status (although it requires more philosophy to explain why this country should have been so badly outdistanced in the final race). In any case the first actual blow struck in behalf of "Woman's Rights" was in the state of New York, in 1848, in the form of a meeting at Seneca Falls—named for one of the very Indian tribes whose women had voted quite simply and apparently from time immemorial on the same terms as men. This was the first convention ever held for the express purpose of securing to women of civilization equality with men before the law. New York had prepared the way for this radical move by passing just before this a bill for the securing of property rights to married women, and Seneca Falls as a liberal Quaker community had attracted two of the women leaders whose new ideas were firmly supported here by an old Quaker tenet.

Seven years before the call for this American convention these same leaders had met together in London a situation which had filled them with righteous indignation and determined purpose with respect to their fellow-women. This was the year of a world anti-slavery convention to be held in the English Capital, a convention inspired by the old fire as to the rights of man and having for its object the elimination of slavery throughout the world. This issue being a peculiarly ardent one in the United States owing to slave conditions in the South as opposed by a northern agitation, a group of American abolitionists including women were sent as delegates. For women had become a distinct factor in the movement for abolition in the United States, in spite of considerable local opposition, and their election as delegates stood for a recognition of their value as platform speakers, agitators and co-workers with men in this notable cause.

At the great humanitarian gathering in London, however, they were to receive a shock which constituted a crude awakening. Upon their arrival they were absolutely discredited as delegates on account of sex. They were actually not allowed to sit on the floor of a convention organized for the purpose of ushering in equality among human beings! This after so long and expensive a journey taken in good faith. So great was their indignation that two of the women then and there vowed to themselves that on their return to their own country they would start an agitation in the interests of "Woman's Rights." This spirit of indignation was so fully shared with them by a great abolitionist who was their fellow-delegate that arriving late and discovering the state of affairs, he himself valiantly refused to take his seat on the floor from which his fellow-countrywomen were excluded, and sat with them in the gallery, thus voluntarily exiling himself from an enterprise so near his heart. It is a point of interest that the attitude of the excommunicated women at this moment was robust rather than morbid or over-earnest. "As the ladies were not allowed to speak in the Convention," runs the old record, "they kept up a brisk fire morning, noon, and night at their hotel, on the unfortunate gentlemen who were domiciled in the same house."

This "brisk fire" upon the man-made order was to take public form at the historically important convention called at Seneca Falls a few years later, a meeting which emerged vigorously from its first deluge of ridicule to command the serious attention of the public. One of the most interesting points in connection with this convention was its direct lineal descent from the eighteenth century councils of men. The republicanism of that earlier day with its high vision, its logical thought sequence, its familiar slogans was to assert itself here in its last impor-

tant application—for the case of the African slave was already being pleaded in terms of its generalizations in America and England. The new contribution was the insistence on woman's membership in the human race. It was the old question in new form—the question of deliverance from the cramping confines of traditional “status” into the new individualism with its ideal of reciprocity, of a social contract. The Declaration of Sentiments drawn up at this first convention in the interests of woman savors not only of the Declaration of Independence, upon which it is closely modeled, but of the typical bill of human rights, rising from a basis of clearly stated grievances.

Among these grievances brought forward by these literal Daughters of the American Revolution the first and foremost was the fact that man had required of woman submission to laws in which she had no voice. Moreover, he had withheld from women rights accorded to ignorant and degraded men, both natives and foreigners; he had denied woman the right to property and to her earnings; had imposed upon the wife obedience to the husband; had denied the mother guardianship of her children; had imposed taxation without representation, monopolized employments, closed the doors of professions, colleges, the ministry; had adopted a double moral standard; had reduced woman to a position “dependent and abject.” Following these charges came resolutions in the form of a list of demands practically covering the objectives of today: a demand for equal rights in the universities, trades and professions, the right to vote, to share in all political offices, honors and emoluments, to make contracts, to sue and be sued, to testify in courts of justice; the right to complete equality in marriage, to personal freedom, property, wages, children. Women now demanded, in short, under the valiant leadership of Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, “in view of the

entire disfranchisement of one half of the people of this country, immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States."

Interestingly enough the only resolution not unanimously adopted on this occasion was that demanding the elective franchise, the very resolution to become the "head of the corner" in the ensuing movement with its final slogan, "Votes for Women." It is a dramatic point that the sole supporter of Mrs. Stanton at this moment was the eloquent colored abolitionist, Frederick Douglass, a former slave. His genius together with his own poignant experience led him to believe that the power to choose rulers was the right by which all the others could be secured. Together with Mrs. Stanton he persistently advocated this most critical resolution which was at last carried by a small majority. The movement for the emancipation of woman as a subject class thus gathered force at the very outset from the anti-slavery cause, drawing such champions among men as William Lloyd Garrison (who heroically absented himself from the floor of the London convention), Whittier and finally Abraham Lincoln. In behalf of this cause men and women were fighting a humanitarian battle side by side, the National Female Anti-Slavery Society of 1833 having merged in a Men's and Women's Anti-Slavery Society six years later.

It was in part for such reasons as these that the emancipation of the colored slaves during the Civil War followed by the neglect of woman came as a blow to those who had desisted from pressing the cause of woman during this troubled time. From this point on the leadership of Susan B. Anthony, who had almost immediately joined the forces of Mrs. Stanton, becomes a touch more militant. She gradually stands forth as a figure of the most moving certitude, of unerring political vision, of fearless attack

upon tradition. Under the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution which removes political disability imposed on the grounds of "race, color or previous condition of servitude," she quietly goes to the polls and votes (several years after the close of the Civil War), encouraging a group of her fellow-women in Rochester, New York, to follow her example. Her conduct on the occasion of her arrest has the indefinable stimulus of an act of courage which cleanly cuts through the meshes of technicality and prejudice. She declares before the court to which she is summoned for her misdemeanor that she is degraded from the status of a citizen to a subject, together with all her sex, assuring her judges that not one dollar of the unjust fine imposed upon her will she ever pay. "And I shall earnestly and persistently continue," she further declares before this somewhat bewildered judicial company, "to urge all women to the practical recognition of the Revolutionary maxim, 'Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God.'" A few years later Miss Anthony drafted a statement which was to be caught up as a torch later by the Woman's Party and carried into its victorious position as the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States:

"The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

Meanwhile in England there had arisen for women a situation not unlike that in the United States immediately after the Civil War. Certain reform acts which English women had campaigned for just as American women had worked for abolition extended the franchise to a large body of English householders, specifically excluding women. The effect of these measures was as in the case

of the United States to start a suffrage movement in the interests of women, although the steps of the movement were different with the two peoples, and somewhat delayed in the case of England. Shortly after the convention at Seneca Falls, the woman who became Mrs. John Stuart Mill and who had caught some of the fervor of the American agitation wrote a powerful article on the enfranchisement of women, and undoubtedly had much to do with the more conspicuous position of her husband, with whom she had enjoyed a long and stimulating intellectual companionship before marriage. In the 1860's John Stuart Mill becomes the leading champion of the woman movement, proposing the substitution of the word "persons" for the word "man" in the People's Bill, and producing that which has remained a classic on the question at issue, *The Subjection of Woman*. Although the measure introduced by Mill was rejected by a vote of 196 to 83, a change in public opinion was registered by the granting to women of a more and more extensive right to the local vote as expressed in municipal, county, parish and district suffrage, with the result that English women arrived at active participation in politics long before their final emancipation. During these years other legal disabilities were being gradually removed, including that under the old Blackstone law which gave the husband the full ownership of his wife's property through the mere act of marriage. In due time New Zealand and Australia were to set the example of granting full suffrage to their women. This gradual approach to enfranchisement in Great Britain was paralleled in the United States by the granting of school and municipal suffrage and the right to vote on bond issues, and for the President, together with the more pointed state-by-state campaigns, which served not only to induct women into direct political activity but which prepared a seasoned suffrage army able

to carry the movement from its earlier stage of propaganda into the white heat of its later political phase.

This latter phase, so shocking to the conservative even among suffragists themselves, so brilliantly iconoclastic from the sentimental standpoint, seemed to arrive overnight. The world was first aware that suffrage had somehow passed into a new *modus operandi* through events in England. The Liberal Government which came into power in 1906 was accompanied by another rise to power in the form of the Woman's Social and Political Union, as led by Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter who were to carry the somewhat obscure suffrage cause into the headlines of newspapers throughout the world. Up to 1908 they confined themselves to asking "inconvenient" questions of members of Government at public meetings, "a perfectly legitimate method of propaganda," according to the 12th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which gives its permanent stamp to an account sympathetic to the militant movement—an article the incorporation of which is in itself a triumph. After 1908, because they were unable to secure a hearing, and because they had been mishandled from the first by the Liberal Government (according to the same account) they entered upon that same career of "violence" which gave an impetus to the suffrage movement in all places, at the same time that it was outraging the sensibilities of those who saw in woman a person upon whom the shadow of *Godey's Lady's Book* still rested.

Judged from the strictly historic standpoint and thrown into comparison with like movements for political reform and emancipation, the militant movement itself steadily preserved the humanitarian idealism which society must inevitably associate with the life of woman. Not a drop of blood was ever shed, although for such reasons as those animating women at this point men had produced their

reigns of terror in France and even in more orderly and temperate England, in the disorders of Cromwell's time—to select two instances from the sanguinary centuries of the régime of man. The English militants smashed windows, there were occasions when they set fire to churches and country mansions, when empty, and to an empty pavilion at Kew Gardens, they several times attacked with the knife the art heritage of civilization. But they held to these impersonal acts. While they were awarded severe penalties of imprisonment these were rarely carried into effect because the imprisoned women went into hunger strikes which imperiled their lives. The Government felt that the sympathies of the English people would be against it were these suffragists—including the finest and most high-bred types—to die on their hands.

This amazing school for women was being quietly attended in 1910 by two young American women of mentality, education and vision, one of whom, a Quaker, was to carry the suffrage cause in the United States into a new and brilliant and victorious phase. "Where are the people—?" asked Mr. Woodrow Wilson when he arrived at the Washington station immediately before his first inauguration, not being met by the expectant crowds which he had most naturally prefigured. "On Pennsylvania Avenue watching the suffrage parade," was the reply. For his arrival in Washington had been anticipated by a young woman in the twenties, a shy poetic type of person with large eyes and thin hands who was to wield a power destined to effect mighty changes in the resistant will of the Administration. This was the Alice Paul who with Lucy Burns had served as private in the English cause and who was now to rouse American women to a new sense of their political capacity and force. Utilizing a committee of the national suffrage organization which had carried on since the time of its

earliest captains, this newly arisen leader and her associate launched in Washington, or revived there, a national campaign aiming at the enfranchisement of woman by direct Federal action. When their procedure became too rapid and audacious for the older organization, involved in its state-by-state campaigns, the new committee raised its own funds, took on a new name and went on alone.

The policy of the new suffrage party was astutely political, although its first impression on the public mind was rather sensational and dramatic, for Miss Paul was well aware of the effects produced by visible masses, parades, the ripple and flow of banners. But it might have been noted from the first that the moments selected for these demonstrations were notably strategic, implying the most thoroughgoing knowledge of American political machinery and methods. Now it was the inauguration of the president, now the meeting of Congress; later elections, the conventions of political parties, even the arrival in Washington of European delegations, as during the War. The personal convictions of politicians were no longer appealed to in the earlier way. Persuasion and propaganda of the older sort yielded to the card catalog, the paid agent of political research, the experienced press committee. The party in power was held responsible for whatever was done or not done in behalf of woman. Democrats and Republicans were to be treated henceforth en bloc, in recognition of the caucus and other modes of joint party action. The western states in which women already had the vote were utilized as a lever in this comprehensive plan.

The keystone in the arch in this conception of American procedure was obviously President Wilson, both officially as President of the United States and politically as leader of the Democratic party. Pressure was continually

brought to bear upon him, therefore, by deputations which endeavored to secure from him definite statements as to his position on the suffrage issue. Immediately before the entrance of the United States into the World War the famous demonstration known as "picketing" began at the White House gates, in reality nothing other than a perpetual deputation to the President, undertaken within the limits of the law as ascertained beforehand, and as afterward borne out by the decisions of the local courts when the Woman's Party finally brought suit for illegal arrests. With the calling of a War Session of Congress the position of the pickets was spiritually strengthened by the following words in the President's message—so ironic as applied to the case of woman, still officially ignored:

"We shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy—for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Whereupon President Wilson like Sir Launfal before him buckled on the bright armor of his idealism and issued forth, passing by the petitioners at his own gates with floating plume.

But it was gradually becoming apparent to other governments if not to that of the United States that the War, so bewildering in its first sharp onslaught, was to include women among the politically oppressed to whom it was to bring relief. While the pickets were standing indefatigably at the White House gates, while they were later serving out their heroic terms in prison, England and Russia were extending the franchise to women, partly as the War revealed its underlying motif of liberation, partly because women were demonstrating their capacity everywhere both in relation to the war itself and in the deserted posts of men. The fall of 1917 was marked how-

ever by important suffrage victories, salient among them the enfranchisement of women in the State of New York, that mighty factor in the political rhythms of the United States. The conquest of this eastern state with its numerical strength immediately affected the national situation. Moreover the campaign as directed by such a seasoned national and international leader as Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, in association with Miss Mary Garrett Hay and other valiant captains, was an act of prowess, involving the closest political organization and the most resourceful handling of a vast heterogeneous population. It was the proud culmination of the state-by-state activity which had lifted so many women from triviality and self-consciousness into heroic work. At the same time and in harmony with this undertaking the national appeal was being pressed by the older organization, which added its volume to the incisive vitality of the new militant wing—a wing which seemed frequently to the conservative eye to be doing more harm than good, but which had none the less “arrived,” using the word in the ringing sense of Walt Whitman. In the summer of 1920 American women were fully enfranchised through the ratification of the original amendment by three-fourths of the States.

The significance of such campaigns as these, everywhere current in the areas of Protestant civilization, lay not only in the issue of political enfranchisement but in the break implied in the psychology of serfdom. Women were making a successful demonstration of their ability to proceed by other methods than those of pleasing men. In the name of a point of justice clearly seen they dispensed with their approval, they overrode their own over-fineness and hothouse sensibility—on city corners under glaring street-lamps, in crowded lobbies, on long marches, through the experience of jail and hunger-strike

—grappling first-hand with a world vigorously aligned against them. It was continually the case however that they drew champions from the ranks of disinterested and clear-seeing men, champions whose forerunners dated as far back as Cornelius Agrippa, in the sixteenth century, and included such a distinguished figure as Condorcet, in revolutionary France, who declared that among the causes of human improvement must be included as one of the most important "the total annihilation of the prejudices which have established between the sexes an inequality of rights fatal even to the party it favors." Moreover it must be borne in mind that the enfranchisement of woman wherever it was attained was finally, in the very nature of the case, a voluntary concession to women on the part of man as a ruling sex.

Everywhere the prejudices, the qualms, the opposition in relation to this movement centered in the idea of family, and its possible disintegration through the freeing of womankind. Everywhere the eloquence of the suffragists was drafted for the quieting of this particular alarm. The public was perpetually reassured on this score. The "home" was not to be overthrown, the relation between men and women was to be left undisturbed. Radicals of the hour who hinted at domestic changes were frequently discredited or disowned at this point by the responsible suffrage leaders—the political captains with a concrete task in hand. The idea that a few moments at the polls could rock the family foundation was ridiculed from every platform.

And this procedure of divesting the suffrage movement of any radical relation to the domestic program was further supported by the tendencies exhibited by women themselves, especially in the English-speaking countries, after the winning of the goal. The expanding world for women was emphatically a world beyond the home's four walls,

so that old problems were not subjected at the outset to any very subversive thoughts. The interest of women at this point tended to fly outward, by a strong centrifugal movement. There was a continuance, undoubtedly an increase, of humane or protective legislation touching the lives of children and of women; but on the whole the new experience, the freedom, the adventure, lay in a getting away from, an escape from, the home confinement, in coming to grips with the external problems given such magnificent publicity in the world of men. In a sense the home continued reasonably inconspicuous because it was not as yet touched by woman's advancing imagination. The home problem was too near, too difficult, too living; too close in many instances to the memories of bruises and humiliations.

But it is doubtful whether any class in history ever advanced with such an overwhelming handicap, or ever overcame any set of restrictions to be compared with those engulfing woman. So that it is not a matter to be wondered at that women were first drawn into the single effort of orienting themselves in the outside world. The inevitable corollary of political rights was the right to an education on equal terms with men—not only a right but a necessity, in the induction of woman into a man-made order. Parallel with the demand for equal rights in the political arena runs the movement making everywhere for the intelligent education of girls and women. The same obstacles are raised, the same barriers slowly beaten down. Girls are reluctantly accorded the same opportunities as boys in secondary education; later, an increasing measure of the same privileges in colleges, universities and professional schools. Even more reluctantly women are accorded the degrees and honors which actually crown work accomplished, especially on the higher levels. The gates are slowly opened for their admission into the salient

professions of men: medicine, law, theology and so on. Meanwhile may be noted the rise and growth of colleges for women keyed to the curricula and standards of excellence found in the schools of men.

Success for woman at this time, the degree of her advancement, is strictly determined by applying the measuring-rod of the dominant sex. In proportion to her facility in handling masculine techniques does woman touch the goal. The news of the hour where woman is concerned (for example) reads as follows: Women (in such and such a place) are given the vote on the same terms as men; here they are elected to a state legislature, there appointed to the bench; here they are sitting in parliament or congress; one is the mayor of a town. The latest census exhibits new and surprising inroads into the few remaining listed activities commonly reserved to men. Items announce the opening here and there of the doors of the great professional schools; again, the acceptance of the woman employee in peculiarly heavy or trying physical work. In short, woman has proved herself quite capable of a procedure man had thought his own, and she has performed in this a notable service to society through the breaking of a world-spell too long associated with the masculine mind. It is healthful though disconcerting to find that pitiable woman, for all her historic handicaps, is able to come out with a little coaching and be a man.

But the policy here involved of ignoring or evading the domestic issue was not to be indefinitely continued, owing to a rising flood of facts—especially unescapable in the typically modern and democratic society of the United States. If a little suffrage handbook had claimed in its campaign ardor that the sparsely populated community of Wyoming showed a decline in the divorce rate directly attributable to "votes for women," this was not to prove a general situation as supported by statistics.

At least the family of the new era was to exhibit symptoms demanding close interpretation—as evident in the following chapter—symptoms not entirely supporting the assurances of the suffrage army that the home was to ride the tide of modern tendencies undisturbed.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE BREAK-UP OF DOMESTICATION

THAT a movement making for the recognition of woman as a human being should have united with other currents to work marked changes in the constitution of family life might have been predicted by any prophet: indeed it was a certainty best disposed of by focussing the mind on other things—so vital, so baffling were the issues involved at this point. They were probably more vital than any of the other issues which society was confidently meeting in terms of its new ideals, but here there was an invasion of the field of feeling which was to be put off until the last possible hour. It was almost too large a subject to be confronted squarely—there was an instinct to leave it to the drift of things. But this drift was moving with an irresistibly strong impulsion in the direction of new ways of life. And when its meaning was caught up and cast into clear speech by such a one, for example, as the dramatist Ibsen, the effect upon the public was almost intolerably vivid because it found here articulated its own intuition and hidden fear. “You are first of all a wife and mother” cries the husband in *A Doll’s House* to that unforgettable figure of the young wife standing at the threshold, the door half open. Her reply was to ring forth as a kind of feminist manifesto: “I am first of all a human being!”

With such utterances as these shaking the air and not to be driven back into silence the suffrage movement was forced out into the open or perhaps simply forward and into a fuller realization of its own implications than was possible in the heat of battle. At least the equali-

tarian idea in the minds of the more sensitive was being pressed into the more delicate and really more serious areas of domestic life. At point of contact with these problems, though not confining itself to them, the original movement deepened its tone, and began to take on the name of "feminism," descriptive of its broader scope. Because it did not hesitate to confront issues hitherto not confronted, and because it chose to wrestle with the most difficult of all problems, its first impression upon the conservative mind was adverse, as of something most perilous and subversive. Political enfranchisement was being conceded precisely on condition that none of these subsequent changes should be allowed to threaten family foundations: the arch-fear still was that woman might prove actually expressive, instead of slipping into the body politic as an entirely dependable and conventional unit. On the whole the latter state of mind was very largely dominant, even among women themselves, so that the feministic attitude—in the sense of an attitude still involving a quest of the truth with respect to woman and the social order—was still that of a minority, and one not fruitful of any very definite results.

Meanwhile, however, society itself was to support this somewhat eager spirit of inquiry by failing to hold to its old positions, by steadily and rapidly moving away from its old moorings. Questions, in short, are converted into something more than academic issues by statistical facts. Although these facts are to stand forth in their most striking form in the United States, they are to appear everywhere as if in evidence of tendencies not to be overlooked or argued away from a traditional standpoint. There is something to be steadily confronted and not ignored in the new history of the family which may be read in progressive countries. The more progressive the country, from the democratic and industrial stand-

point, the more in evidence appears to be this new and decidedly disturbing domestic trend. Certainly there is something here to be observed and traced, not necessarily by the champion of woman and the new ideas, but by any one really concerned with the well-being of the social whole.

The modern family then demands consideration even though the feminist issue, as such, may be for a time evaded, and the first point to be noted in connection with this family is its close relation to the fundamental historic trend. It stands at the outset, as we already know, for the triumph of civil over ecclesiastical jurisdiction in marital affairs, although it is still highly conditioned by the Catholic or Protestant soil into which it throws down its tap-root. Europe, however, has experienced a French Revolution as well as a Reformation—of more Germanic temper—and even the Romance countries are not to rest undisturbed in an old tradition. The civil note is struck, so that the history of the family even outside of the distinctly Protestant nations is one of gradual modification by the new ideal—that of free institutions—with the result that there is a transfer of matrimonial jurisdiction from ecclesiastical to civil courts even in countries dominated by a Catholic régime. Intimately associated with this change of base is the spread everywhere of the right of absolute divorce as contrasted with mere separation, although the actual practice is held back by invisible ties of custom not only in the countries directly influenced by Catholic dogma (as for example, Italy), but in such northern nations as Germany and England, but slowly weaned from the old tenets of canon law.

It is thus the case that while the new ideal definitely affecting the status of the family is making its presence felt throughout the entire area of Christian civilization,

it is not to disclose its temper rapidly in the atmosphere of Old World custom. Even in England, which may be called indeed the mother-country of the new social order, we find the episcopal clergy still exercising jurisdiction over matrimonial causes through the ecclesiastical courts and still maintaining the old canonical stand against outright divorce up to the year 1857, when a Divorce Act transfers their powers to a new civil tribunal, at the same time establishing the right to divorce on the usual grounds. Discrimination against woman expresses itself at this point in the statute permitting a man to divorce his wife for the single cause of adultery, but allowing the wife to divorce her husband on the same charge only when he has committed one other statutory offense beside.

English tradition is thus to prove a strong deterrent to the very tendency not only associated with but largely springing from its own history and culture, so that it is not until the English family finds itself in new territory and far from age-old suggestions and a reminiscent atmosphere that it is in a position to exhibit its inherent nature; at least its inherent nature as an integral part of the great radical and progressive movement of English life. For these reasons a study of the family in the United States is something more than a typical study of a modern nation. A social current flows from English into American civilization with a kind of unbroken swing and sequence, so that the institutional life of the New World comes as a sort of finale to at least one movement in an immense composition. It is as inevitably and logically provided for by what has gone before it as the concluding movement of any work of art which springs irresistibly from its premise rather as a living than an arbitrarily created thing.

Beyond this general value attached to a study of the family in the United States is the added circumstance

that no other nation offers in connection with this subject so valuable a body of official data. Statistics are available in this field covering over half a century dating back from the present day, and supplying the student with more adequate material than can be obtained for any other nation during these most interesting and critical years. This data consists of a series of Government reports undertaken in every instance in response to popular demand, the first covering the twenty year period from 1867 to 1886 (encouraged rather in the interest of future legislation and judicial procedure than for the purpose of steadying the family ark); the second, recommended by President Roosevelt again in response to a popular demand, bringing the report up to 1906 and thus completing a record of forty consecutive years; the third, a series of annual reports not beginning regularly until 1922 (owing to War conditions immediately following the appropriation), but including in the interval a report for one year, 1916.

The statistics thus presented are admirably adapted to a study which aims at interpretation rather than detailed fact, for they are not subtle and conflicting but combine to tell one simple story: the story of the disintegration of the American family as registered by divorce. The great upward-soaring divorce curve in the United States proceeds steadily and rapidly from the first year, with only slight interruptions (attributed in every instance to business depression or financial panic, in the appended interpretation). But the instances are rare, the effect of the deterrent slight, so that the mounting lines swing on in defiance of an ideal long clung to (at least technically and sentimentally) by the Christian world. There are nearly three times as many divorces (to a given unit of population) in the second block of twenty years as in the first; and since each census year shows a marked increase over the preceding there is a steady mounting of

numbers from the date of 1867 through the year of the last available census report, 1925. Each year represents a slight increase of divorce rate at least, while some years exhibit a particularly marked increase, as in the case of the year 1923 which shows very nearly an eleven per cent increase over 1922. Figured in terms of the number of divorces to a given number of marriages (to proceed to a rapid summary) we find that while in 1887, for example, one marriage in every seventeen (in round numbers) terminated in divorce, one marriage in every seven ends in divorce today; a situation which has been arrived at by an apparently irresistible movement observable through over half a century of American life, and startling rather through its regularity than through its sudden flights. This regularity is made especially graphic by Professor Lichtenberger in his excellent study of these statistics, in which he supplies a table giving the number of divorces per 100,000 population as stated for each fifth year, beginning with 1870 and ending with 1905, the numbers running in the following regular sequence: 29 (for 1870), then 32, 38, 44, 53, 58, 73, ending with 82 for 1905.

As contrasted with the rest of the world (and even the early statisticians are thoughtful enough to attempt the securing of comparative figures) the position of the United States in the matter of divorce is that of a nation astonishingly in the lead, although mention should be made of the fact that it is outdistanced by Japan, that trusting student of Western institutions who in 1898 displaced her old social customs with a civil code. In a commentary on the second Government report by Professor Willcox it appears that the United States had in 1905 more divorces than all the rest of the Christian civilized world put together. For example, the United States heads a list of countries with an item of 67,976 for this same year, the next nations in order being Germany with something

over 11,000, followed by France with something over 10,000, Great Britain being found well down on the list with a modest 821—the total of this list (exclusive of the United States) amounting to 40,000. To dispose of the factor of population in these comparisons Professor Willcox goes on to show that whereas the United States had in 1905 one divorce in every twelve marriages, the record for France indicated one divorce in thirty, that of Germany one in forty-four, that of England one in four hundred—and so on through a list of European countries.

While it is impossible to feel entirely firm ground underfoot in dealing with these national comparisons, owing to different modes of computation and other minor difficulties, the figures are descriptive and far from being contradictory they unite, like the domestic figures, in support of one general trend. This means that the United States, though in the lead, does not occupy a unique position in the concourse of nations, but that the trend of statistics everywhere in the field of marriage is in this direction. For example, the year 1905 presents a column of divorce figures for European nations almost uniformly in advance of the figures for 1885, and in most cases showing a marked advance. And it is even more true of the current hour that it has caught the American rhythm, as shown especially in a list of European countries with divorce rates for 1922. There is abundant data to indicate a more generally prevailing break in the tradition of the stable family—a change particularly noticeable in Germany and England, but observable in other countries including France, Switzerland and Sweden.

But it is impossible to penetrate at all into the legal aspect of the situation—the field in which divorce is operative—without discovering how superficial is the control of law, and how much further all analysis must go if it is to catch the shuttle-flash of what is actually

weaving the fabric of human life. We may observe for example in both Norway and Japan the operation of laws permitting divorce by mutual consent. But we find in Norway, for reasons not to be superficially discerned, an extremely low rate of divorce; in Japan, an extremely high rate, although one that has registered as in the case of Norway a decline. The same point is interestingly illustrated in the operation of certain laws in the legal patchwork quilt of the United States, which seems to present a uniformity of movement in spite of the fact that the procedure in marriage and divorce is here defined by forty-nine different codes. While the leading grounds for divorce—adultery, cruelty and desertion—tend to be somewhat uniformly recognized throughout civilization, and are so recognized in the majority of American states, two states, New York and South Carolina, are distinguished from all others in their technical strictness in the matter of divorce, New York allowing divorce only on the one ground of adultery and South Carolina allowing no divorce on any ground. It is the effect of these two codes which constitutes a commentary on the legal situation in all its phases. For South Carolina (according to a New York attorney writing on divorce) is notable for its concubinage and “left-hand marriages,” and has a higher rate of illegitimacy than any other state in the union, while New York may be cited in further proof of the historic fact—the fact of Catholic civilization—that the indissolubility of marriage before the law does not necessarily make for greater integrity in actual experience. According to the chairman of the committee on law reform of the New York State Bar Association (1920) the average rate for divorce for adultery in the United States is about 13.3 per 100,000; but in New York State it is practically double, or 27.5. Beyond this it appears that New York with its single cause “keeps abreast” of the

rest of the country with its many causes (to adopt the writer's somewhat ironic phrase), the decade of 1896-1906 having shown here an increase of some sixty per cent over the preceding. The situation is summed up in the statement that the divorce rate in New York has doubled in twenty-six years, although the single "ground" with its impression of stability remains unchanged. This is the point at which there should be logically introduced also the subject of the newly flourishing divorce mart in Paris (the competitor of Reno), somewhat elusive as regards exact reports but quite evidently started and largely supported by American, and beyond that New York, trade.

Here at least is a body of statistics overriding any of its minor discrepancies in its picturing of the disintegrating family of modern civilization, and above all, of the United States. But it must be borne sternly in mind that we are contemplating here a legal picture only; and that divorce is simply one mode, and a newly popular mode, of handling a situation wholly or partially disintegrated before the motion of recourse to law. As pointed out by a New York attorney with large experience in this field, divorce must be seen as the remedy, not the disease. It is simply an answer to the question: What are we to do with this broken family life? This shattered integrity? This defeated love? The law is only summoned to a wreck that previously existed. In short, the new evil of divorce is primarily the old evil of adultery, cruelty, desertion, drunkenness, insanity, and overlying and underlying all this, the discord of partners—the familiar and outstanding ills which have long assailed the well-being of the human race. Of the major causes in this list (as emphasized by the laws of nations)—the causes that everywhere appear as "grounds"—there is no downright evidence of increase, although this is a field which does

not lend itself to statistical study since alleged causes are quite as apt to veil as to disclose the real situation. In what then consists the extraordinary newness of the issue? What is the meaning of the rising line that steadily defines a more and more complete family disruption in progressive civilizations? What is it that has made of divorce possibly the most pressing problem with which the world is today confronted?

As pertinent to these questions we must take cognizance of the fact that two-thirds of the divorces during the entire period of the American record have been applied for by women. Which means that divorce in this case is almost entitled to a new name, so different is it from the repudiation formerly expressive of the supreme masculine right to satisfy the desires of sex at will, at random. Divorce in the new democratic and industrial order may be seen at this point and at least from one important angle as a mode of redress. As such it becomes primarily the instrument of the class suffering from a disadvantage, in this case, woman. Its very terms to begin with define a contract which holds both partners to account, so that the long-unaccountable one, the masculine partner, may press his violations only up to a certain point; beyond this the law, if appealed to, will take a hand, and woman will be permitted to avail herself of the typically Protestant mode of solving the contradictions of a situation—escape, division. This escape, however, in the face of the abuse of so intimate a relation as that existing between man and wife, is not to be despised: it inheres as justice in the idea of contract, it acts inevitably in the direction of restraint, and it belongs somehow above all to the right of chastity that guards love itself like a flaming sword, establishing an intrinsic dignity set high above all possible compulsion. Beyond this, divorce may be resorted to as a benign protection to child-life; and

as an even more profound protection in relation to the unborn, to whom it utters at need its "*ils ne passeront pas.*"

In all of these circumstances in which we are confronted with divorce as essentially a mode of redress for woman, we are dealing with one partner who for the first time in history is not bound hand and foot in her situation. This is one of the interesting fruits of the fact that her serious economic value as a worker finds expression outside of rather than within the home. Work is no longer deeply identified with the tie of sex in woman's case, but is largely independent of it. This opens a door which does not necessarily imperil the bond of love and the integrity of the marriage contract but it does put it to the test, in that it must hold henceforth largely on its genuine merit. If it is spurious and not real it is no longer supported and indefinitely continued by the old economic organization. The new order, as economically organized, enables woman's "taste in sex to remain noble" (to borrow the fine German phrase). For the alternative in this situation, at the same time that it tends incidentally toward disruption, makes for the purifying and perfecting of domestic life. And it unquestionably lifts the rank of woman intrinsically, as well as in the eyes of men; with the result that the status of woman in the United States appears to foreigners to be as conspicuously high as the divorce-rate. Another change serving to set woman free from an untoward situation is the revision in her favor of laws governing the custody of children, a correction eliminating one more vestige of the patriarchate and one more tie binding her to a marital situation which on its merits might be abandoned. The factor of alimony in the problem, asked for and granted in a very small minority of all cases, may be seen as less a regular economic dispensation than a special assignment of funds to

meet a specific need, as in the case of dependent children, although alimony is obviously quite capable of converting the divorce procedure into a profitable money-making enterprise in connection with large estates as manipulated by ambitious lawyers.

Over and above these specific factors making for a high divorce rate is the break for woman in the psychology of serfdom; a lifting of the spell of mere domestication, the temper, the sentimentality of the house-bound one who in common with domestic pets and other domesticated creatures has exchanged her first-hand reactions, her general competence in the free-flowing scheme of things, for a set of special qualities which have endeared her and made her useful to another human being. Whatever one or two or three things have been most profitable and desirable to her master and overlord, these woman has learned to do, and in endless repetition, especially during the declining days of the productive home. And this gradually narrowed program has rendered her more securely the possession of her husband as she has grown proportionally more unfit to hold her own in any other position than that of a ward. Incompetence and inexperience have been the corollary of this accepted plan—qualities which have bound her feet and made her flight unlikely. Gradually delivered from this—from the domesticated body by athletics, the domesticated mind by education, the domesticated heart little by little through the tremendous sum-total of an open life—in short, from all these states in which the old home actually found much of its security and basis, she sets up a requirement befitting a human being. And in the process she is likely to avail herself of all the help the law affords.

But while divorce as a mode of redress may be seen as especially valuable to woman, its essence is impartial justice, and it applies in reality with equal force to the

life of man. It enables him to free not only himself but the children born to him from intolerable conditions, and to enter a protest against the evils which, while they are more commonly associated with the practices of men, may appear in even more humanly devastating form in the lives of women. For both partners the right of divorce stands as a protection against abuses in the marital relation, implying that there are terms in marriage which must be met if the integrity of the relation is to be maintained. While it may be emphasized that two-thirds of all divorces are applied for by women, it must still be remembered that one-third of the total number of divorces in the United States are granted at the petition of men, so that we have in the largest sense the picture of a life demoralized by human weaknesses pertaining to both men and women, and frequently so complicated in their interaction as to be indistinguishable one from another in the ensuing marital wreck.

Yet it is not the full truth with respect to divorce in the United States, or elsewhere, that it is conceived alone as a mode of escape from marital situations which yield obvious "grounds." A very much more serious, a very much more difficult problem arises in connection with the sheer failure of love itself, especially in the United States which has frankly undertaken to build the life-partnership of marriage on romantic love as a base. It is an experiment—if the word may be used of an enterprise so spontaneously entered into—never undertaken with the same completeness in any society at any previous time; but one which must be seen as the inevitable effect of every movement which was sending its rivers into the great flood of individualistic life. It was an inevitable thing as derived from the Reformation, with its discovery of and dependence on the "inner light," it was inevitable as following feudal romanticism, the rise of

sentimental or selective love in the Middle Ages, and it came into its alluring, unstable, half marvellous, half disappointing "own" with the downfall of parents, with the withdrawal of the kinship group on both sides of the equation. We confront at this point the joyously elected bond of two young and inexperienced and spell-bound human beings—a bond which is to end in disillusionment one time out of seven. But once given this romantic or erotic love as the *raison d'être* of marriage, there is every reason to leap on to the conclusion that with its failure the case is closed. One enters and one passes out by the same door—a logic perfectly expressed in the modern Scandinavian law providing for divorce by mutual consent and without grounds.

It is at this point that the question of Pilate reasserts itself in new and more moving form: What is love? For while there is somehow captured in this new conception a beauty, a spiritual fitness never to be forfeited again, (once seen), never to be let go, there yet arises a sense of insufficiency, as if the path awaited a new light, a fuller revelation. For what is there here to prevent the "blonde beast" from devouring the new freedom in the name of his carnal will? And if this is all, if each is to be governed by his desire or its cessation, where is the social order, so difficultly wrought out, so dearly paid for? Where is man himself, that one who has so slowly but so certainly differentiated himself from animal-kind?

It is at this point in the most critical, the most delicately conceived of modern problems that there are voices raised the effect of which is decidedly to rationalize the tendency of freedom in the emotional field. Two European influences entirely hostile to the mystic Christian spirit in its survivals are brought to bear on the situation through the Jewish neurologist Freud and the Swedish feminist Ellen Key—entirely unlike in temper, but one

in their acceptance of the natural man whom they do not divide Christian-fashion into tendencies of flesh and spirit. In common with Rousseau they see in society an artifice existing rather less in support of man than at his expense. Rating the natural passions high, they see in repression, at least in a wide sweep of instances, an arch-evil. The tone of Madame Key, however, is sentimental and idealistic, as contrasted with the bluntly physiological note of Freud. She is the uncritical defender of romantic love, exhibiting no skepticism with respect to the sex-spell, and attempting to secure for it right of way. The same invitation to follow the line of impulse is offered by Freud in his therapeutic method, although his position is of enormously wider influence in that he gives to the indulgence of the instincts and desires the semblance of a scientific basis. He offers thus a respite from social disciplines and tensions by a kind of special dispensation—this time from the realm of so-called science, but authorizing in the old way that looser program which a man may hesitate to enter into “on his own.” These two exponents of a naturalistic philosophy—avowedly anti-Christian—contribute their influence perhaps more pointedly than any other figures to the disintegration of the present family form, justifying the procedure in strictly individualistic terms and tending to abandon without solution the very ancient problem of the adjustment of the individual to the social whole.

But the break-up of domestication must not be entirely accounted for in terms of personal life with its philosophies and justifications. There must be taken into the reckoning the remarkable changes in the home itself, and the reaction of these upon the attitudes and ways of family members. We have to begin with the practical fading out of the home as an industrial center, the passing into outer areas of the large number of activities which

gave it for centuries vitality and importance. The removal of the enormously important textile industry with its subsidiary tasks we have already considered at length in connection with the Industrial Revolution. But beyond this may be mentioned a long list of salient activities which the entire trend of modern life tends to increase rather than diminish. Prominent among these enterprises formerly carried on in the home but now relegated in the main to outside agencies are the education of children, recreation, care of the sick and disabled, and religious worship. In addition to these transfers may be mentioned the passing of discipline from the hands of the father or both parents into community agencies, as represented not only by such institutions as the juvenile court, but by the extensive application of civil law, more and more tending to displace a domestic or even a personal code in the control of conduct.

As to the one practical activity of primary importance still retained in the home, that of cooking, it is only necessary to consider the terms in which this work is carried on to see how largely this process also has been transferred to the great body of outside specialists. To begin with the immense work of the producing, gathering, refining and semi-preparation of food-stuffs is entirely in their hands, so that the raw materials which ultimately reach the housewife are so far removed from their original crudity that her task is reduced to a minimum, even when the out-and-out cooking of the material is definitely undertaken. Beyond this lies the immense field of canned goods, of packages and bottles; then the bakery; and only a step beyond this, the delicatessen with its shelves of cooked food. Then comes the complete substitute for the home meal supplied by increasingly numerous restaurants, cafés and tea-rooms—where “home cooking” appears as a kind of domestic vestige, or survival. This program as

outlined, is supported not only by the general enfranchisement of woman, but by the decline (or rise) of the servant class, and by the smaller family with its much more limited exactions. The availability of all these outside resources is immensely increased—even in many cases opened up—by telephone and automobile, both of which may be seen rather as radial lines which lead away from the home than toward it. And this is true indirectly of the very excellence of home mechanics and devices that shorten the hours which the housewife must actually devote even to her minimized task, a point notably illustrated by the fireless cooker which enables her to achieve a meal without being present during the most of the process. The same type of exemption from home care is further accomplished by the systematized supply of heat, light and water.

Probably the most direct and immediate effect of this exodus from the home of activities and interests is upon the younger generation who express a body of attitudes somewhat breath-taking but not easy to refute. In short the break-up of domestication, manifests itself not only in the mounting of divorce statistics but in the celebrated "revolt of youth." We have a mass of young folk responding to the almost irresistible centrifugal motion which leads away from the home center, breaking with the faint sentimentality of the perishing home-tradition and going its independent way. For independence and objective action are the keynote of this almost completely masculinized modern world. Religion, stillness, contemplation—love as conceived in its more quiet reaches—these things are not in the air, where the materialistic swing of the typical man-made society has had its will.

As to the matter of marriage, this younger generation is exceptionally sage, experimental and worldly-wise. Satiated with knowledge, excitement and frequently experience in the teens, it is really above the expectation of

anything idyllic. It has bettered its predecessors in that it does not imitate even their youthful enthusiasm for romantic love. (At least it is beneath the tone of its sophistication openly to concede so much). But the celebrated revolt of youth evident at this point reduces itself on close analysis to the revolt of girls. There were always wild oats and a dash of skepticism in the case of boys. It is the disaffection of the sentimental and conservative girl which has worked the havoc of change. It is she who has given to the whole affair of domestication its final shock.

What has happened, in reality, is the complete masculinization of all life whatsoever—actually the more complete through the emancipation and education of excluded womankind. For the enfranchised one has simply passed at this point from one kind of serfdom into another. If man controlled the home so that it was difficult or impossible for woman to achieve free movement in it, how much more does he control every possible turn and maneuver of the outside world! What a trust is this of sex—how unescapable (or almost unescapable) through the very scope and brilliancy of the performance is masculine dominion!

But was there no valid place for the feminine factor in the universal plan, no value which it was intended to sustain,—to bring forward—in completion of life's circle? Is there in woman no force of revivifying newness, no first-hand vision not lost in imitation? Possibly this complete material mastery of man was to serve as the very opportunity for woman in the bringing to birth of finer values. Is there no precious meaning which she has been able to draw—for the good of all—from her strangely different history, her long silence, even her subjection?

In the following chapter we shall attempt to trace something in the way of a unique expression on the part

of woman—a departure from accredited values, the beaten path; for the attainment of partial—or full—equality with men, as we shall discover, does not close her case.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE ADVANCE OF WOMAN

IN the Spring of 1858 Buckle, author of the once famous, now somewhat outdated, *History of Civilization*, delivered at the Royal Institution of London his only public lecture, of which the subject was "The Influence of Woman on the Progress of Knowledge." The thesis of this lecture, somewhat isolated from the thought-currents of the hour which were finding expression rather in the contentions of John Stuart Mill, is of marked interest in relation to the later history of womankind, for there is here struck an interpretive note decidedly unique in discussions of cultural progress. "So far from women exercising little or no influence over the progress of knowledge," declared Buckle at this time, "they are capable of exercising and have exercised an enormous influence," and he insisted that this influence was so great that it was hardly possible to assign limits to it, and that great as it was it might with advantage be still further increased. He saw the influence in question as "an undercurrent below the surface—and therefore invisible to hasty observers," and he felt that it had produced the most important results, having affected the shape, character and amount of our knowledge. To proceed to the heart of his analysis of woman's tendency and contribution, he saw in her the mental habit which proceeds spontaneously from the internal to the external in its attack on life, in short he found in woman the natural exponent of a deductive rather than an inductive method, one who, to use his own somewhat picturesque terms in this connection:

"explains phenomena by descending on them instead of rising from them."

This habit, according to Buckle, had "rendered an immense though unconscious service to the progress of knowledge by preventing scientific investigators from being as exclusively inductive as they would otherwise be." "If it were not for them" (women), he asserts, "scientific men would be much too inductive." From which point the lecturer proceeds with a certain lift of vision to declare that "the field of thought is rapidly widening, and as the horizon recedes on every side it will soon be impossible for the more logical operation of the understanding to cover the whole of that enormous outlying domain." Again, "Those who are most anxious that the boundaries of knowledge should be enlarged, ought to be most eager that the influence of women should be increased in order that every resource of the human mind may be at once and quickly brought into play." "When the human mind once steadily combines the whole of its powers," he concludes, "it will be more than a match for the difficulties presented by the external world."

It may be said of these observations that the striking feature in their time and place is a recognition of qualitative differences between men and women not to be interpreted at the latter's expense, and at the same time not exclusively associated (in time-honored fashion) with the parental function. And it is interesting to note that woman is seen not only as possessing possibilities in the field of general values, but as one who has continually expressed there an obscure but potent influence. Woman does not necessarily rise, then, from nothing to something as she presses forward into an equalitarian program—this would be the view-point of Buckle. Even in the midst of her civil and domestic disabilities she has been continually modifying society and even the pursuit of

knowledge by attitudes not to be overlooked, even though it has proven difficult, perhaps impossible, to keep the score of her proceedings in the same terms as those of men.

This particular view-point, however, for all its stimulating quality (as looked upon from the firm vantage-ground of today) had a serious draw-back, and it is not surprising that it was overridden in the sturdy forward march of the suffrage movement, for the differentiation of woman, once granted in this way, tended to hold her in the old limited grooves. Here was that "indirect influence" which was the arch-enemy of civil freedom, here was a defense of the old feminine irrationality which tended to defeat a sound educational program, here was a woman who by her exceptionality was not granted a position in the liberal movements advancing the human race. Woman was to be seen at this point either as a human being, in the sense that men are human beings, or as a ward; and the zest of the hour carried her forward to the braver, more desirable ground. This new position was most easily sustained by holding to a kind of quantitative rather than a qualitative program. No qualitative difference between men and women was conceded: in short the feminine property had been so long identified with weakness that the boldest maneuver was to abandon it completely. Society was to be seen henceforth as made up of valid human beings. In short, the lecture of Buckle, in somewhat yellowed essay form, was destined to spend the better part of a century on the library shelf, while that of Mill was to be set to the music of marching feet.

Yet there was an inevitable pitfall confronting woman in her coming forth as a human being, and that was that her model in the way of a human being was a type of man. That is, the concession, so far as sex-modifications were concerned, was all hers. In brief, her humanization was to

a large degree frank masculinization, so that the triumph of the masculine characteristic was in a sense more complete after her admission into the world of affairs than ever before. The home, amateurish, out of touch with the trend of things, had yet served as a kind of still spot in which woman had been left much to her own devices. What her thought process was no one knew very clearly (it was into this field that Buckle penetrated with his intuition or speculation): it was certainly not man's, owing to her exclusion from active affairs, from education, from that which made him what he was. It was generally believed that woman was religious—in an unofficial way—and this proclivity was welcomed, first possibly for a real reason, that there was here conserved an actual religious note; beyond this for the reason that this program supported a program of subordination. In any case it was quite obvious that during a long stretch of centuries woman was to be found living in a very different way from man, doing a very different type of work, and experiencing a very different set of emotional reactions, (as the situation would be expressed in the current phrase).

Given this situation, it would seem that nothing could be of more interest and value than a real and naïve self-expression on the part of this long-silent one upon her entrance into a world of somewhat stereotyped procedure. And yet there were almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of expression of this kind. Assuming that there did exist—in the very nature of the case—something in the way of a unique self in woman, it was almost too much to expect that it should break forth from its centuries of twilight and achieve expression in the stark glare of a thoroughly masculine world. It must be borne in mind that this was a world extraordinarily confident of its values—which were only to be disturbed momentarily by such men as poets—and it was not looking for any fresh

and naïve commentary on its own procedure, or any contribution couched in other than familiar terms. Certainly it was not looking for anything of the sort from such a despised quarter as woman's mind. There was little curiosity, then, about what the newcomer in civilization was likely to feel or think; the most to be hoped for was that she should enter the body politic without disturbing the public peace, and prove as biddable and accommodating in the new situation as in the old.

And indeed it was not easy for her to discover any other way than that of pure tutelage and accommodation, since the entire world surrounding her was so firmly organized in the hands of men. First there were the fields of work not only developed along the lines of man's imagination but subject to his immediate control. Then there was the enormous project of education by means of which the unit of masculine society was to find its way not only into all the techniques of accomplishment, but into all the mental atmospheres in which life was led, in which things were conceived and done. A prelude to any thoroughgoing grasp of and feeling for this masculine culture was a knowledge of that great saga of man's attainment—history, as written: history with its essentially masculine preoccupations,—war, politics, finance. Then it was necessary to acquire at least a measure of that searching knowledge of externals which was to stand possibly as man's supreme achievement, by his own appraisal. For this scientific knowledge was linked with a great extension of material power, astonishing manipulations, and but for its chastening failure to do as well with human beings as with things, it would certainly have stood forth as the dominion which was to distinguish man from the brute world. Beyond all this was an organized religion interpreted and administered by men, the official custodians of spiritual values.

The enfranchisement of woman, then, was to mean admission not only into the body politic as designed by men and conducted by them, but into an entire man-made world, into an acceptance of a typically masculine mental process at every turn. It was thus the case that any differentiated value was apt to disappear in woman precisely in proportion to her success on the new terms. Thrown into this real but largely unrecognized dilemma, woman in the majority of cases went straight on, doing the thing before her with astonishing proficiency, and enjoying her freedom from home captivity too much really to orient herself in the new situation. And while a certain mediocrity of imitation inhered in this program from the very first, it was lost for a time in the general excitement attending a change and real step of progress.

With the subsidence of the suffrage campaigns, however, marked by their heroic temper, with the settling down to the real business of life on new terms, certain things became apparent—even to the most ardent champions of womankind. It was literally the case that the bright promises of the suffrage movement were not being fulfilled, at least not in the mode predicted. It was not that the enfranchisement of woman had brought with it any serious ills—even divorce was acquiring its headway earlier, and could not be laid squarely at its door. But there was creeping in a certain apathy of purpose—at least a limited fulfilment (so it would seem) of the first shining vision. From the standpoint of numbers women were an astonishingly feeble block in affairs of legislation, with the bars practically down; their economic independence, squarely viewed, did not seem to augur a mighty advance upon citadels of financial control. Their appearance all along the line was that of widely diffused subordinates, carrying with it the sense of performance reiterated, rather than the infusion into

the life of the world of fresh force, of new enthusiasm and vitality—new elements, or at least new uses for the old. The humanitarian modifications and reforms did not languish—they were carried on; the theme of equality was pressed into its fuller implications. But if the “sorry scheme of things entire” was to have been remoulded nearer to the desire of human beings, not even the most loyal champion of woman could claim that the thing had been visibly attained by her political emancipation—or professional advance. Either the meaning of the contribution of woman was to be appraised in a different way, or the limited character of her attainment was to be frankly admitted on every hand.

The current of thought running in this critical direction with respect to woman was coming to be more and more frequently expressed as time went on, especially on the part of men—those men who had conceded the humanization of woman, perhaps, with a reluctance not quite overcome. Here was a complex attitude, an overtone of doubt and question, especially in those disillusioned to a degree with the world of man’s own making. In the midst of the sum of things as contrived by him—in the midst of all his sanity, his science, his attainment—was it not true of man that he had somehow looked to woman for a kind of respite, a spiritual refreshment beyond his power to define? Whether she was absurd or inscrutable he could not tell: he was loth none the less to lose this incalculable something. To bare the actual truth, up to the hour of her enfranchisement had he not vested in her that *superstition*, that trust in the apparently irrational, without which it is impossible for the soul to live? Woman having given herself over so trustingly to his tutelage, is he to be confronted henceforth with nothing but the array of his own unending pigeonholes? Is there to be henceforth no atmosphere, nothing but the stark forms of

machinery, system, masculinity? Even of "equality," of "rights"? Is it to be the doom of the more sensitive among men that they are to perish of their own dominion, unless there is to be discovered to them something which shall have the force of a revivifying newness, a beyond?

The dominant sex! It becomes necessary at this point, given the fine philosophic clue of the Vaertings, to attempt to see the social whole with a more over-arching vision than hitherto, to the end of discovering its larger rhythms, its more elemental factors. And from this vantage-ground it appears that this prevailing masculinity which tends to limit the full expression of the feminine factor at every turn is not indissolubly associated with dominion in its nature, but is subject instead to the mighty flux standing for the surgence and resurgence of certain values in the creative movement of the human race. Now the feminine is caught up by advancing life, used and exalted (as attested to at least to a degree in primitive society, in a more pervasive sense, in the Middle Ages); now the masculine is borne forward, held aloft in a position of authority and dominion, as in industrial civilization. Best of all—that which must be prefigured rather than fully seen at the present hour—the two correlated factors, both comprehended and so harmoniously attuned, are finally advanced in full expression of the potencies of generic man.

With this recognition of a larger, a more free-flowing movement in the affair of human life—possible only in contemplation of a longer sweep of time than history records—we are forced to see not only the society of any given period but its religion also in a relative place. From this standpoint of vision the most transcendent values are inevitably linked with the social aspects of the age in which they appear, as for example when vestiges of woman's social eminence are correlated with hints as to

the spiritual importance and priority of the feminine idea. In the path of matriarchy or near-matriarchy we thus discover stories of creation in which Adam is conceived as being created out of the rib of Eve; suggestions from recently discovered Babylonian tablets that it was man who first tasted the forbidden fruit; evidences of the precedence of goddesses over gods in Crete, in Egypt—examples further supported by the findings of the distinguished Semitic student, W. Robertson Smith, who discovers deities originally female changing their sex and becoming gods, a religious change corresponding with suggestions of a vanishing matriarchy already noted in preceding pages. Other students writing with authority in the field of myths observe that the position of the female deities usually depends upon the social position of woman. It is also noted that female deities are frequently conceived as having more spiritual qualities than the male, as more pervasive presences. There are myths indeed which conceive of woman as alone endowed with immortal life.

In the light of these hints and vestiges the masculine dominance of man in the later world-religions ceases to be a matter of surprise, presenting itself instead as normal to every period in which man stands forth as the dominant sex. The masculinization of the Christian Church—so complete as to have lost for centuries any trace of its historic origin—is thus to be accounted for in terms of the political and social dominance of the masculine half of the human race. Historic Christianity thus runs true to type as the religion of a patriarchate; but in so doing it is astonishing to see how it loses the potencies and uniqueness of Christianity itself, which was originally projected into life as a revelation at variance with patriarchal claims, the tendencies of an official priesthood exclusively identified with a régime of men. With this

identification vanishes the very general faculty of healing, the doing of the "first works" so miraculous in character that the reputation of the early Christians was rather that of miracle-doers than dogmatic teachers. And this fixed masculine dominance not only prevails in the great Roman church, but penetrates with nearly undiminished force into the heretical movement of the Protestant Reformation. Socially, politically and in terms of organized religion woman has been thus accorded in Western as in Eastern civilization a completely logical position as the subordinate sex, and such has been her status until very recent times. So close indeed is the psychic relation of these social and religious factors that in the light of what may be called the larger history it is not easy to conceive of her free movement in any of these fields with her movement in the others bound.

It is thus apparent that in a society identified with a religion of masculine ideology the advance of woman (in its outward aspects) is an advance held firmly in areas of subordination, and highly conditioned by the most elemental modes and thought-processes of men. Under these circumstances there may be observed in her case an extended lateral movement—but little upward lift. The major enterprise on her part is wanting, the affair of scope and influence at all comparable to that repeatedly characteristic of the work of men—for the very air is charged with conceptions against which the individual performance has a tendency to beat in vain. Not entirely in vain: because the ultimate change is to be wrought in part by just such pressures exerted everywhere, each falling short of free expression, but each contributing to the change in equilibrium which alone is able to release woman into accomplishment, untrammelled speech. Yet here is a dominant thought which tends to align every possible movement with its major trend, to confer its

tone and color—and limitation—upon every undertaking conceived within its range.

What must be looked for then, if woman is to advance as woman, if she is to make articulate an influence which has steadily but obscurely modified life for good (as Buckle has believed), is a break in the traditional barrier wider and more far-reaching than that which has been associated up to this point with her way of progress. In short—if we are to proceed with knowledge of historic rhythms—there must be looked for not only openings into social, political and industrial fields, but a breach in the wall of the historic Christianity which has built its churches and its systems on the official exclusion of woman as an inferior sex—for all the elusive feminism of the Middle Ages, the clarity of the Quakers, the keying of certain of the later Protestant groups to civic changes. We must look indeed for a break not only in the usages and overtones of Christian civilization, but in the conceptions which lie nearer its very base.

So looking we shall find the phenomenon in question is not to be sought in a future vision, but is to be discovered—directly and surprisingly—in contemporary life; at least it may be discovered there if we are able to divest the mind of preconceptions and to view the whole with fresh eyes. For in the United States, breaking through the entire scheme of accepted values, and carrying its methods into all quarters of the world, the movement of Christian Science stands forth as a conception of the Christian religion drawn from woman's insight, quietly advancing woman to a position of equality with man in the Christian church, and, conceiving the spiritual or creative principle in feminine as well as in masculine terms. The maternal attribute of the divine is thus advanced in connection with the paternal attribute—not as in the poetic overtones of Virgin worship, but with the living potencies of

an operative truth, a conception intimately associated with the restoration to Christianity of its lost power of healing.

Significantly enough, in this accomplishment in the field of spiritual intuition, we have on the part of woman a single attainment unrivalled in her historic record, a major enterprise remarkable not only for its scope and influence, but as the projection of a unique vision at variance with the accredited modes of men. As contrasted with other movements making for woman's political, educational and professional advancement, this movement (free of these specific aims) proceeds without a gesture of discrimination between the case of woman and that of all humankind; but it avoids by its very character and history the tendencies of imitation which have beset woman's path, and thus releases something in the way of an untrammelled contribution. Moreover it is a movement not based on a petitioning of men, but one which has marched steadily along its straight—and derided—path without support or favor from the administrators of life as organized. It has not asked for half of the world as man has made it; even more significantly, it has not asked for half of the historic Christian church. Continually dependent upon its striking “works,” its enterprise has been the direct expression of an active principle, the discovery of its leader, Mary Baker Eddy, whose *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, however baffling to scholars, has commanded the attention of an enormous—and increasingly enormous—public for over half a century. An international newspaper bearing the name of the movement and founded by its leader is valued by enlightened readers throughout the world, and is even conceded to have influenced all journalism in the direction of its ideals.

Here on the whole is an undertaking, an event in the human chronicle, which by virtue of its magnitude alone

should compel the thoughtful consideration of the social student, especially the student of the history of woman—the more indeed that it is a movement defying appraisal according to the standards habitually applied to the work of men. We have here in fact something which has actually proceeded from a differentiated value in womankind—not discoverable in woman as a unique possession, but conserved in her or revealed through her in our day as a further reach of the perceptive possibilities of the human race. There is here caught up and saved through the instrumentality of woman's intuition (so evidence would indicate) a primitive Christian meaning, once registered by illuminated men and thereafter lost—a realization able to restore to Christianity something of the first great works. Is there not possibly presented here at the same time a valid approach to the phenomena of life which will eventually be seen and understood as a contribution to the larger "science" that must avail itself of every true perception and attribute of mind in its quest for knowledge?

As to the social significance of this new movement carrying forward an intuitive value, especially as touching family problems, it may be said that this is to be read at the present hour rather in general aspects than in direct application to the formulation of institutional life. This is partly because a movement involving such new attitudes and devoted so largely to the elemental work of healing requires in the nature of the case more than half a century to realize its own implications—like the Protestant movement before it, from which it traces its lineal descent. Further, it is essentially characteristic of the new attitudes in question that they do not concern themselves with the manipulation of outward circumstance, with schemes and systems, but involve instead a solution of all problems in terms of the inner life. They revive the early Christian

emphasis on the inner or spiritual man, as distinguished from the material personality, the man of flesh, but the relation between the divine and human at this point is wrought out in a way which departs widely from the asceticism of the Middle Ages in that it provides for the ascent of man through the upward steps of a natural life. Indeed it is a distinguishing mark of the new Christian interpretation advanced by woman that it moves from the resistant Puritan position into conceptions of fulfilment and abundance, in spite of the fact that it proceeds from what would be popularly termed a mystic premise.

In any case we discover here a movement of immense scope and influence which does actually advance spiritual values palpable to woman and which does force a breach in the historic wall which has so long excluded her from free expression in the Christian church. Interestingly enough this unique feminine contribution may be broadly classified as falling in the field of deductive thought and in this sense fulfilling to a degree at least the prophecy of Buckle, who believed that the cultural gift of woman was not to be identified wholly with that of man, but was to be advanced as a distinct addition to or amplification of his powers of thought. It may be said further of this feminine gift that it verifies a certain profound wisdom in the world's platitudes in that it confirms the age-old association of woman with the ministry of love.

From the latter standpoint it may be said that woman's life has been enriched and socialized at the same time that it has been handicapped in the narrowest professional sense by family obligations, so that she is likely to carry forward, with her less hampered movement, a human maturity of high value in the wider fields. She is likely to exhibit a capacity for welding, for adjusting the claims of the young, the old, the needy—the enormous army of human beings not able to respond at all times to

the hard-and-fast demands of systems. In short, society may turn to her to carry the concept of justice into its New Testament implications, a service for which her way of life has been preparing her in the midst of her very disabilities and humiliations.

But such a contribution cannot be seen as a swing of the pendulum in the direction of dominion on the part of womankind. At one with the finest intuitions of the suffrage movement and democracy itself, it aims at a getting away from the very theory of dominion. In this it supports the genuine desire of the present age to lead captivity captive, that the iron hand of institutions may rest as lightly as possible on those whose freedom begins to manifest the faint outlines of an inner law. In this sense the strong structural lines of the historic family grow faint only to make room for the finer, more perfect affiliation of men and women and their children, of friend and friend, as bound primarily by a law of spontaneous love. This spontaneity, however, as spiritually understood, is built on the conquest not the release of the lower nature of humankind—an interpretation which gives dignity to the long fumbling struggle of institutional life.

CHAPTER XXV

THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

It has been the purpose of the preceding pages to throw into the perspective of its history the family of today, but it is not the design of a final chapter to narrow the interpretation of current forces by a dogmatic closing picture. This is especially the case in view of the fact that the great experiment of social life in the United States has found its key-note in freedom, and as underlying this, in a faith in man himself. It involves a perhaps unprecedented act of trust. In such an order and under these conditions the human being who is given room must also be given time. He is laying upon the institutions of his creation—or which have somehow accomplished their existence through him—a higher, a more spiritual demand than has ever been laid upon the organization of society before. In connection with the new enterprise of which he is a living part he demands something more than the old necessities, the old measure of life's enhancement. He is more than a citizen, in the earlier sense, he is an explorer beside, seeking to discover the first-hand worth or worthlessness of this element or that in his cultural heritage. He still moves as one touched faintly with the adventure of a New World, surrounded by the ocean's isolating gray and blue.

It is inevitable under these conditions that freedom should bring with it a trying out of values; it was not to be expected that a society should orient itself at once in an air so liberal as to offer in one breath a sweep of opportunity and an inviting license. We should reassure ourselves at this point with the hardy words of Luther:

"We are men, not God!" And it should not be a dismaying matter that the family tradition, in common with all others, should be brought into question at every point, that its every structural line should be subjected to the most vital test. The beauty of this process is that the morality, the form, which is finally able to survive this virile onslaught will prove convincing: it may even happen that much of the morality cast into this furnace of contention may emerge as spiritual law, as the true path of man in the more delicate inward sense.

At least we find here an impassioned quest for the real and valid, for that which lies beneath the trappings, the tawdry ceremonials of other places, other days. Authority, in the very nature of the case, is under suspicion at every point; must render an account of itself which can stand on its own feet. And this widely prevailing skepticism is not alone the child of liberty, but of general education, of extended knowledge. Society found its cement for centuries in majorities who did not question, who did not know; knowledge and skepticism were then the luxury of the occasional Voltaire. But when these pass into the hands of every man through liberal education, there are new reckonings to be made. Yet all of this more or less splendid enterprise and danger was launched with the first questions raised against kings and popes. The old issue but takes up a new position in the vital problem of family life. Unless the entire premise of the new society is false, its implications are to be seen through at this crucial point with faith and patience.

The whole procedure is graphically illustrated in the case of that much-discussed group of new-comers in the social world, the younger generation, who, in their relation to their parental predecessors, embody the historic trend of the entire society of which they are a part. To begin with (like this society) they shake off with a kind of salu-

tary doubt—and somewhat alarming gesture of complete independence—the prestige of age per se. Age would say to youth (as the older societies would say to the newer order): We have *found* this and that to be true. But youth replies: Convince us by your own well-being, the look in your eyes that life is good, that you have found the compelling path for all feet. In default of this—and it is especially unconvinced in the field of family tradition—youth takes its different path; a different path which is more often than once upon a time a lawless one, we are given to understand. At this point the adult in his turn might look with searching inquiry and eager love into the eyes of youth, and say: Have *you* found in the ancient license (which is the new morality) the way of life? For along with the measure of sex-freedom which was formerly man's alone comes a dull skepticism which was for a time his unique possession also, but which now appears too often not only in the eyes but in the avowed ideals of the very young. Romantic or personal love, with no stronger staff than its own preference to lean on, has clearly not stood up under the unprecedented pressures of the new day. The new generation does not believe in the old idyl: it veers in the direction of both libertine and saint in its sense that erotic love is insubstantial, that upon its foundation alone it is not easy to build the house of life. Either it believes these things; or it proceeds in a disguising armor in a world which makes little provision at best for the naïveté and freshness of the human spirit.

We are told however that when the half-gods go the gods arrive, and perhaps one of the most illuminating lessons of "this freedom" was precisely that the one thus freed might learn more of the inconsequential nature of his own desires, of the emptiness of this mere scope, range, motion; that he might discover finally that part of its beauty and completeness is conferred upon the

play of life by form. Deeper than this is the dawning sense of a law beyond the law books, a spiritual coherence and indwelling trend the realization of which is to prove mankind's next great adventure, an adventure in which, as we have seen, woman has led the way.

But the chapters of this chronicle have pursued a trail which has led at this point to its last frontier. The new exploration, the new solutions, are not likely to associate themselves again in the old way with far-flung enterprise and territorial expansion. So far as these things are concerned life has reached in the largest sense a point of rest. No institutions are likely to be cast again into environments so novel and alluring as those of the New World. Individualism may never again find such untrammelled opportunities, such rich material resources. In the United States the westward movement with its invitation to the daring and the fit is practically brought to a close in its original form by the stable settlement and ownership of land—the final chapter in American life. The Pacific states stand face to face with the enigmatic and ancient culture of the East.

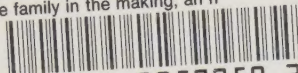
Yet it is the more likely for these reasons, and within these restrictions, that the problems of human association will find their adequate solution, and that the family will stand forth in due time as a delicately wrought out form admitting of the highest measure of freedom yet attained, but supplying at the same time a gracious bond supporting rather than constricting the rich life of our modern day. Beyond this and springing indeed from these very disciplines and releases in the field of human affiliation, lies that greater family in the making, the family of all mankind.

THE END

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